BABESCH 83 (2008), 1-16. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033095.

A Key to the Coffin
A model to assess social change in Villanovan tombs from Veii, Tarquinia and Verucchio (950 to 700 BC)

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Abstract

Status in Italic tombs is generally classified through the value, the quantity and the quality of the objects in the corredo. In this paper this methodology is examined and the different objects that are specifically related to status are listed separately. This list is used to individually classify Early Iron Age tombs from Veii, Tarquinia and Verucchio. Those with the clearest expression of high status are used to reconstruct an overall development of increasingly complex leadership between approximately 950 and 700 BC. The different material ways in which this process was expressed in the mentioned settlements is central to this observation.

Italy during the Iron Age is best known from its thousands and thousands of tombs, grouped in large cemeteries all over the peninsula. This study reviews the current status of archaeological research on the subject of Italian Early Iron Age cemeteries and contributes to the research of social and political change in this period. In general, studies of early hierarchical communities find that the form and extent of leadership adjusts to the size and complexity of the underlying society.[1] This implicates that we can determine the nature of a society by looking at its leaders, or archaeologically, by looking at the way their leadership was represented materially. In Villanovan Italy this status was expressed in tombs. A relatively simple model was used here to select these tombs. It focuses on specific artefacts that are defined as status symbols. With this, 113 high status burials were selected from several well published cemeteries of various sites. This paper will mainly discuss the similarities and differences between Veii, Tarquinia and Verucchio (*fig. 1*). For the absolute dates of the archaeological periods used in this paper I refer to figure 2.

The occurrence of ranking in tombs has been recorded as early as the Middle Bronze Age and during the Recent Bronze Age it became expressed more clearly through the use of swords and lances in grave contexts.[2] The Iron Age saw an even further increase of status expressions. Multiple scholars have contributed to the investigation of this development. The first part of the Iron Age is therein represented by, for example, Pacciarelli's work on Tarquinia's cemetery of 'Le Rose'[3] or Hencken's publications on Tarquinia's cemetery of Arcatelle,[4] whose interpretation was modernized by Iaia several decades later.[5] Tarquinia is well represented in the earliest period (950-850 BC). Especially at Arcatelle where sword/lance combinations, horse-bits, an alabaster vase, an early example of a bronze crested helmet, bronze vessels and a fibula decorated with gold were all found in tombs from EIA1 (Early Iron Age 1).

In this period strong signs of ranking are found in a group of hut-urn cremations, buried in large fossa or cassetta structures. The hut-urn is well known from Latium Vetus, shortly before and in the beginning of the first millennium BC. The object is believed to have symbolized the role of the deceased as a warrior and the master of the household or pater familias.[6] Five hut-urn burials are known from Tarquinia. They were all accompanied by a typically male corredo in which some female objects are sometimes found. The hut-urn cremations have a strong pottery component and can include symbolic items and ceremonial vessels. They are further accompanied by weaponry, ornamental objects and bronzes. In Veii the hut-urn period is not well represented, but cap-helmet covers were found in the shape of a hut roof and a cover bowl resembling a hut-urn is also known.

The appearance of wealth and symbolism in these hut-urn tombs, clearly indicates that important changes had taken place between the Bronze and Iron age. The foundation of sedentary settlements on the fertile tufa platforms in Etruria had become possible through a combination of advantageous factors, like the improvement of agriculture and iron tooling. By this time the possibilities for the specialization of craftsmanship,

Fig. 1. The location of the sites discussed in the paper (map by author).

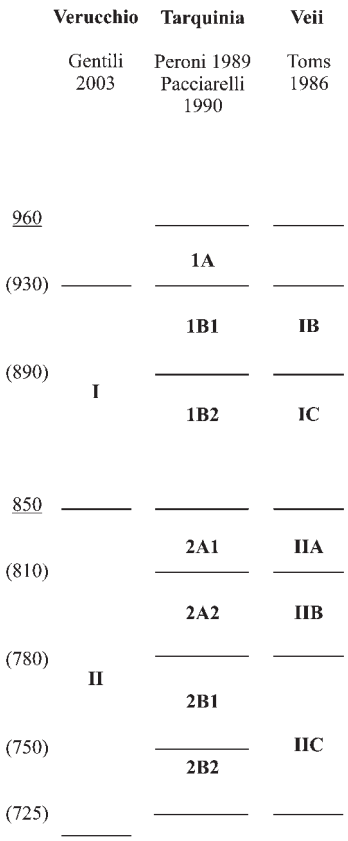

Fig. 2. Absolute dates of different Iron Age periods for the relevant sites (after Pacciarelli 1999, 63 and Gentili 2003, adapted by author).

contacts with other settlements and demographic growth greatly increased. It was the start of a structural development that gave birth to more complex hierarchic societies and an unequal distribution of newly available wealth, which became expressed in the burials of the dead. As an example, Veii between the Bronze and Iron Age was little more than a collection of small settlements with a simple internal hierarchy. Pacciarelli's study of Veii's Quattro Fontanili, however, enabled him to discern the existence of strongly expressed ranking only a few generations later (EIA1).

The objects mentioned for the men of his highest rank are metal vases, fibulae, razors, horse bits, roasting spits, rings, an axe and unspecified 'prestige items'. The children of this category get glass beads and a bracelet (spiral): the most important indicator of rank for children.[7] The female depositions of the first rank are characterized by many small objects in relation to spinning activities, three or more fibulae, necklaces of amber and glass paste, spiralled bracelets, an occasional knife and often a decorated bronze belt. In Tarquinia female cremations with more elaborate corredi are known from the transition between phase IIA1 and IIA2 (775/750 BC, at Arcatelle and Selciatello Sopra). One example was found with 73 fibulae and 35 pendants.[8] Burials of this sort are said to illustrate the first emergence of an aristocratic elite.[9] The way this elite came into existence and what their role was in different settlements is the subject of this paper.

SYMBOLS OF POWER

From the above it has become clear that tombs are generally classified through the value, the quantity and the quality of the objects in the corredo. The present study assesses changes in the burial customs of the elite members of society. The tombs of these individuals are generally easily recognizable because, like in Pacciarelli's first rank, they often employ a combination of different status indicators. Mentioned were hut-urns, weapons,

Fig. 3. A bronze shield, lituus *and greaves in the British Museum (photo: author).*

bronze vessels, decorated fibulae of rare types and weaving sets. Social status seems to have been primarily expressed through functional objects of this sort. In the course of time, objects in relation to food preparation and accessories for a banquet or symposium, like spits, fire-dogs, knives and drinking sets become popular as well.[10] Symbolism also becomes more important. This means that objects of little intrinsic value can express a considerable amount of status. For example, the possession of horses can be considered to have been quite prestigious, everything symbolizing this in death may be considered to have been expressions of this prestige. This can range from clay horse images and metal horse bits to the deposition of actual battle carts and the burial of real horses.

Many of the objects we find directly inform us about the actual or symbolic function of the deceased individual. The objects express roles like the master of the household (hut-urn), a warrior (weapons, *fig. 3*), a priest (sacrificial knife, *fig. 4*) or

Fig. 4. An iron sacrificial knife in the British Museum (photo: author).

activities in relation to food distribution (cooking and drinking sets) and weaving (spindle accessories). A separate category of prestige items is formed by, often non-functional, highly decorative artefacts with a high intrinsic value. These objects express wealth above all and say little about the function of the deceased individual. In this category one can place rare objects of foreign or local origin and objects manufactured from rare materials. For this research the significance and status expression of many objects was surveyed. This resulted in the creation of a list of objects that appeared to have had the specific purpose of ex-

pressing prestige, wealth, status or function. This list was subsequently used to determine whether a tomb belonged to an individual of 'high status' and to quantify the measure of status.

It is hardly necessary to repeat this discussion here. An example of how certain objects can change from a functional to a symbolic expression, however, can be presented by regarding the use of weaving sets; sometimes referred to as the female equivalent of weaponry.[11] The objects that can be related to the activity of weaving are fusaiole and rocchette first of all. These very common small clay objects served as weights in different places on the weaving loom. An object of higher value is the spindle (fuso/conocchia) itself, made out of wood or bronze. It appears that spinning is expressed in corredi with a single spindle whorl and probably a spindle out of wood, while the more prestigious weaving is expressed by multiple fusaiole and rocchette.[12] Spindle whorls are considered to be significantly related to the female gender, but are occasionally found in male warrior tombs. This may be interpreted as an offering from a woman to her deceased spouse. It is also possible that the objects had some value as an ornament for men.[13]

At Veii, in the beginning of the Early Iron Age, the activities of weaving were not of particularly high status. Much more importance was attributed to the value of personal ornaments.[14] This was largely the same at Osteria dell'Osa, where the activity of weaving was performed by all women, thus apparently unrelated to a particular social position.[15] It is probably only from the second half of the 9th century onward that a change from the functional to the symbolic meaning of weaving becomes evident. By then more abundant and valuable weaving sets appear as a symbol of status in bronze, amber, bone and glass; sometimes in very high numbers.[16] An 8th century example of this is found in tomb CBAG (Cassa with Bronze Amphora and Girdle) from Tarquinia.[17] Donated to this female cremation were a total of nine bronze and 26 ceramic spindle whorls and 63 rocchette that form an elaborate weaving set. An additional 70 fibulae testify to the abundance and decorative nature of the clothing this individual must have worn. This is complemented by a bronze amphora with bronze cover as the ossuary urn, a bronze belt, fragments of bronze chains and pendants, bronze discs with gold leaf, gold spiral wire and a very rare fibula out of electrum (an alloy of gold and silver). Iconographical proof for the importance of weaving in Emilia Romagna is found in tombs from Verucchio and Bologna. The prestigious tomb Lippi 89 of Verucchio contains a throne that has a schematic scene of seated, weaving women.[18] An example from the end of the seventh century was found on a so-called tintinnabulum in tomb 5 of the Bologna Military Arsenal. The female tomb contains bronze, gold, a large amber necklace and Eastern glass and faience. The flat, bell shaped tintinnabulum depicts weaving women and women extracting cloth from a situla. They are seated on thrones very much like those found in Verucchio.[19]

In the case of specifically male prestige objects the process towards more symbolism and less functionality can also be observed. In the course of the Iron Age, weapons become more abundant and decorated as well as increasingly less suited for actual combat purposes.[20] Concurrent with this development we see that objects that express different social functions begin to be used in combination with each other. This can be considered to be part of the gradual concentration of political, religious and military power in the hands of single individuals.[21] When this happens we can expect to encounter more complex combinations of objects that can express multiple functional or symbolic roles. The interpretation of tombs becomes much less straight forward as a result. A list of many objects that were found primarily in high status tombs, in many possible combinations, is presented below (*table 1*). The selection of high status tombs was based on the presence of a minimum of three of these status indicators. This number was chosen in consideration of classifications by other researchers and to establish a more or less objective division between tombs of average and above average status expression. That such a simple approach works, was shown by the resulting selection of tombs. It spans the entire Early Iron Age and is very able to illustrate the developments that were meant to be unravelled. The most representative tombs from the sites of Veii, Tarquinia and Verucchio and the differences between them are addressed in the remainder of this paper.

VEII

From a sample of about 700 tombs, 54 high status tombs were selected from the best published cemeteries of Veii. Only one of these can be dated before the second half of the 9th century. Female tomb OP4-5 (possibly Veii IC) contains no iron but some amber objects and small gold jewellery (fibulae, spiral and beads), bronze vessels, a bronze belt and a bronze axe.[22] An axe is also found in female tomb I17 (Veii IIA)[23] and EF11-12 (Veii

Table 1. An overview of significant status indicators and prestige items taken from numerous studies (author).

Object	**Material**	**Gender**
Hut-urn (*Urna a capanna*)	Impasto	m/f
Helmet lid (*Elmo coperchio*)	Impasto/Bronze	m
Sword (*Spada*)	Bronze/Iron	m
Decorated Belt	Bronze	f/(m)
Lance (*Lancia*, *hasta*)	Bronze/Iron	m
Knife	Bronze/Iron	m/f
(Double) Shield (*Scudi* (*bilobati*))	Sheet bronze	m
Horse bits (*Morsi*)	Bronze/Iron	m/f
Arrowheads	Bronze/Flint	m/f
Jewellery (pendants, necklaces, spiral, bracelet, rings, decorated *fibulae*, amulet)	Amber/Glass Paste/Valuable metals	f/(m)
Roasting spit, fire-dog	Metal	m/f
Incensiero (incense burner)	Bronze	
Candelabro (candlestick)	Bronze	
Presentatoio (perfume burner)	Bronze	
Tripod table	Bronze	m/f
Red slip ware	Impasto Rosso	m/f
Weaving set	Impasto/(Bronze)	f
Drinking set/banquet	Impasto/(Bronze)	m/f
Cart/wagon (miniature or real size)	Impasto	m/f
Figurines (human or animal)	Impasto	m/f
Sceptre (*Bastone di commando*)	Decorated metal	m
Lituus, curved staff or trumpet	Bronze	m
High Perforated stand (*Holmos*)	Impasto	
Fan/sun shade (*Flabello*)	Bronze	m/(f)
Bucket (*Situla*)	Bronze	f/(m)
Throne (furniture)	Bronze/perishables	m/f
Folding chair	Ivory/perishables	m/f
Other valuable artefacts (imports; scarab, Ostrich eggs, depictions of Eastern deities, glass vessels, Eastern decorative elements, Griffon cauldrons)	Antler, Ivory, Faience, Bronze, Alabaster, Gold, Silver, Glass, Bone, Electrum, Amber	

IIB),[24] making the first appearance of weapons in this selection an almost exclusively female occasion. The only male tomb selected for IIA is cremation AA10B containing a bronze crested helmet, a razor and horse-bits as its only indicators of status. The earliest tombs of Veii's chronology are characterized by this lack of ornamentation.

Gold is rare in Iron Age Italy, but it appears to be available at Veii from the very beginning, even before iron. It has to have been imported from elsewhere, since this metal is not indigenous to Italy. Silver appears from IIB2 onward, always in the shape of small decorative objects. This metal is sometimes claimed to have been available in small quantities in Etruria, though it is unclear whether it was actually mined.[25] Iron is also introduced in IIB, though immediately in the shape of weapons. This indicates that the Villanovan smithies were already well acquainted with this material. Veii's involvement in a system of Mediterranean and mainland trade routes becomes clear quite early. Small objects of amber (probably from the Baltic), mostly part of necklaces or pendants, are quite popular during the entire Early Iron Age. Egyp-

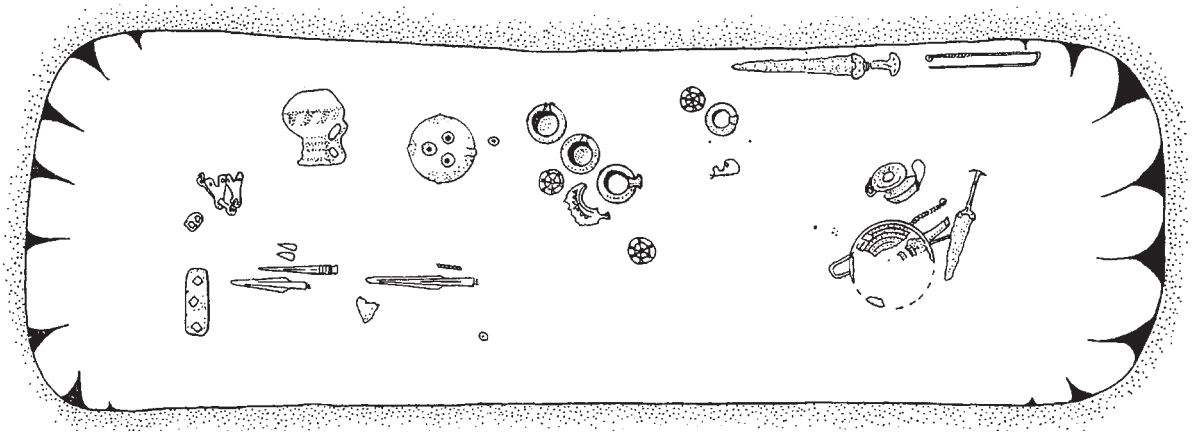

*Fig. 5. Tomb EE10B from Veii (*NSc *1967, fig.27, adapted by author).*

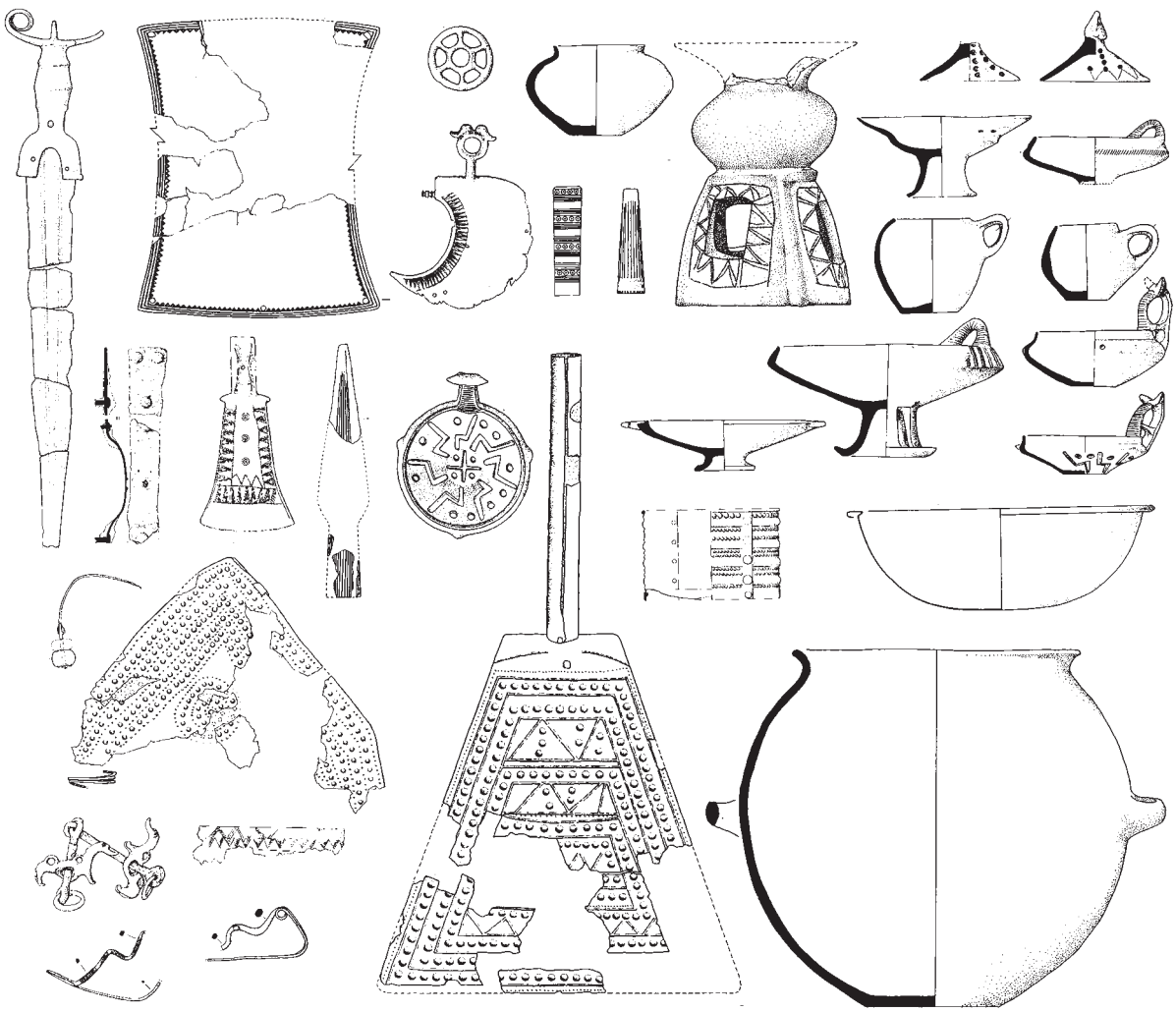

*Fig. 6. The contents of tomb Z15A from Veii, no scaling (*NSc *1965, fig. 78-87, compiled by author).*

tianizing scarabs that reached the mainland through Levantine traders are also found frequently; earliest in tomb I17 of Veii IIA (above). The skill of producing faience originated in the Levant, where the craft of working with glass wares was already highly developed at an early date. Impasto rosso was a local product, but inspired by Phoenician red-slip[26] and also appears from IIB onward. Painted wares of Greek origin only appear in three tombs of this selection and were not yet widespread.

For male burials the use of gold and silver appears not to have been very popular. The modest use of amber and the low quantity of fibulae are also characteristic. In male tombs strong power symbols rather than elaborate wealth are used for the expression of status. The most important male role is the warrior. Warrior tombs can simply be defined as containing a combination of offensive and defensive weapons. In the case of high status warriors these combinations are of above average complexity, for example an iron lance/sword combination with bronze armour instead of a ceramic helmet with a spear. A significant variation in the complexity of these combinations becomes noticeable from Veii IIB onward. It is then that the analysis of individual tomb contents can reveal part of a hierarchy within the stratum of high status individuals. The first signs of higher levels of leadership may already be observed at the beginning of IIB with a tomb like EE10B (IIB1, end of 9th century BC), abundant for an early warrior tomb with a two-wheeled cart, horse bits, a razor, an iron sword and bronze sheath, bronze lances, an iron dagger, ceramic set with impasto rosso, a scarab and roasting spits (*fig. 5*).[27] On a special note we should also mention tomb 575, a cremation in a dolium with a bronze crested helmet cover, bronze miniature lance and sword, bronze razor and a ceramic set for drinking or banquet.[28] The rite of cremation, the lack of great intrinsic value and the presence of bronze miniature weapons may suggest a very early date, in which case it would be one of the first and most noticeable warrior tombs of this selection. The tombs mentioned here mark the beginning of a new tradition of more abundant warrior burials at Veii. Comparable tombs appear during the entire 8th century.

Important examples within this development are tombs Z15A and AA1.[29] These tombs are quite different from their predecessors and contemporaries. For both tombs cremation was chosen as a burial rite in a time when inhumation was clearly prevalent. The remains were placed in a decorated bronze vase for AA1 and a dolium for Z15A. The first contains remnants of a 2 wheeled cart, horse bits, a sword and sheath, a lance, four lance ends, an axe, a bronze crested helmet, a shield, and a scarab of ivory and bone. Z15A contains a razor, a perforated stand, a fan, a lance, a sword, an axe, a shield, a helmet and a pectoral (*fig. 6*). A rich set of ceramics in both tombs could be interpreted as a set for a banquet. Both tombs also contain a possible sceptre. Because these tombs so clearly contrast with other tombs from period IIB, one can conclude that the position of these individuals must have been higher than that of the others.[30] In this we see a strong expression of the changes that were already marked by earlier tombs. In Veii the high status males and their position of leadership are primarily expressed through the use of complex combinations of weaponry and armour in the tomb. What can be observed as well is that the choice to deviate from the regular traditions, like the burial rite, can also be related to such high status. A third important observation is that besides the individuality of the warrior equipment a central social role is expressed by functional objects like the ceramic drinking set.

The stronger expressions of status in more elaborate burials indicate that more resources became available during the Iron Age. This newly found wealth can be considered to have been distributed unequally, but its control was not in the hands of single individuals. The hoarding of wealth through several generations and status attribution took place on a family level. Proof of this is found in a tomb like HH6-7. This burial of two boys contains a two-wheeled cart, a bronze lance, an iron axe, iron horse bits, impasto rosso and a razor.[31] A children's burial of such a prestigious nature is of great importance because it proves the presence of hereditary status and the sort of kinship relations one would expect from a chiefdom. It shows that the society has advanced beyond the stage wherein status is attributed through personal achievements, age or possession and that social power is now in the hands of families.

That the leadership of the most prominent families can be assumed to have taken a more absolute form over time, and to such a degree that some even speak of tribal 'kings',[32] can be observed from the funerary record somewhat later. In Veii this is illustrated by tombs like 871 and 1036. The first of these is noticeable through its almost monumental fossa structure and its contents that look like a later version of Z15A; also containing a

sceptre, a fan and a full arsenal of weapons and armour.[33] It distinguishes itself from Z15A by the presence of more ornamental objects; bronze sculpture and gold. 1036 can be dated even before 871 and was found on Casale del Fosso in the centre of a group of smaller and more modest burials. The male burial contains two scudi bilobati, dischi-corazza (armour plating), a crested helmet, an axe, an iron sword with bronze sheath, an iron lance, a bronze javelin (throwing spear), an iron mazza (club or staff), an iron sceptre with amber and bronze decorations, a bronze situla and a fully metal corredo.[34] The high political and military rank is evident, but the scudi bilobati in combination with the dischi-corazza are known from Latial tombs of the tenth century and are believed to be related to a religious function.[35] Tombs of this nature confirm that during IIC or perhaps the beginning of IIIA a position of real 'chiefs' came into existence that involved more than being the first amongst some high ranking warriors. At the end of the 8th century in Veii a position existed from where a single individual exercised power in politics, military and religion.

The reason to think of this development in terms of the rise of one or a few families as gentes or a patriciate, is that the variation in female tombs shows something of a similar course. With the early tomb of OP4-5 (mentioned above) a standard was set that appears to continue throughout IIB. A few exceptions, however, mark the appearance of new power relations. In the case of females the differences are found primarily in the quantity and value of the corredo. HH11-12 (IIB2) stands out from the rest of the tombs through the presence of above average amounts of bronze ornaments, jewellery with the use of gold, silver, amber, glass and crystal, an impasto rosso ceramic set, 34 rocchette and seven faience figurines (scarabs)[36] that seem to indicate that more resources were available for the burial of this woman than for other high status females. The following period, unfortunately, does not show the same strong increase of differentiation as with the males. Tomb Yα (IIC)[37] is comparable to HH11-12 and does not offer any new insights. In period IIIA tombs like Vaccareccia VIII appear, with 22 bronze fibulae, bronze ornaments, ten fusaiole, a set of ceramics with impasto rosso, 42 gold rings and remains of a battle cart (chariot).[38]

High status female tombs of Veii are noticeable first of all because they make up over half of the total selection of high status tombs and second because almost all of them contain above average amounts of small jewellery of bronze, amber, silver and gold. The act of weaving is expressed modestly in the high status tombs. Rocchette are found in large quantities in several tombs, but there are many high status examples where only one or a few rocchette or spindle whorls are the only objects found in relation to weaving. Probably more important is that all tombs use one or multiple symbols to distinguish themselves from others. For example the combination of horse-bits or a cart with impasto rosso, possibly expressing the actual act of travel or trade. Other objects are faience figurines, axes and knives, of which the latter two are frequently related to food preparation or religious ceremony. Next, there are two cases of a bronze 'incense burner' (incensiero, tomb 1032 and KK10-11).[39] This object is well known, but not very common and a variation on this object has been mentioned as being specific for tombe principesche.[40] Among the more common high status elements is the bronze belt. In some cases two belts are found in two different shapes (nastriforme and losanga, rectangular and diamond shaped).

In conclusion, although there is a greater number of high status female tombs, the male tombs at Veii see the strongest development in the shape of increasingly complex combinations of status related objects. The more sophisticated expressions at the end of the Early Iron Age involve the deposition of special and rare prestige items or a special way of treating the burial. Most noticeable by definition are the tombs that stand out of an existing tradition. The high status of these individuals can be observed from the intrinsic value and originality of the corredo in combination with multiple objects that symbolize different social and individual functions.

TARQUINIA

More than 800 tombs are known from Tarquinia and from those best published twenty-one high status tombs were selected. The oldest of significant status is Selciatello 75, dating to Villanovan 1A (960-930 BC).[41] It contains a ceramic helmet as an urn cover, a bronze sword with sheath, a rectangular bronze razor, a bronze spear and some other small bronzes. The rectangular razor is a very early shape, whereas Iron Age razors generally appear in a moon or half-moon shape. The full size weapons in this tomb are probably among the earliest examples known from Tarquinia.

More representatives of this early period are found in the small cemetery of Le Rose. The 69 tombs there probably reflect a very small com-

munity; maybe one or two families that resided on Tarquinia's plateau in Villanovan I. The family hierarchy that also appears to have been quite important at Veii can already be distinguished from this early sample. Tombs like female XLIV and male XLVII contrast greatly with the surrounding modest tombs and clearly reveal a measure of stratification. XLIV contains two globular olle on a high foot of impasto rosso, a painted cup of purified clay, some bronze rings and two iron fibulae a sanguisuga.[42] In XLVII a ceramic bell-helmet cover (elmo a calotta pileato) decorated with bronze strips and pieces of amber and ivory, a small plate on foot with a human figure and a tazza of peculiar shape decorated with bronze were found.[43] Even more important is tomb LIX, containing an iron sword with iron sheath, an iron lance (heavily corroded) and two iron fibulae among other iron fragments with another possible iron blade.[44] The large amount of iron in this tomb is more a trait of the eighth century than of the tenth and is especially striking in the averagely poor cemetery of Le Rose. Iron would have been an enormously valuable metal at such an early stage and the warrior receiving such wealth as the only one of his generation must be considered to have exercised exactly the kind of leadership we are trying to trace. This early funerary date from Tarquinia clearly proves that a rather strong hierarchy already existed on a family level in the second half of the 10th century BC, though it had yet to encompass the stretch of a larger society.

The beginning of this larger scale can be seen in the following century at Tarquinia. A warrior function appears to express itself more strongly, like in Veii, but there is also a noticeable difference. The variations on the classic warrior tomb are quite original and the classic warrior role is neglected more easily at Tarquinia. This can be illustrated by tombs like Impiccato II, which has two decorated helmets, a bronze lance, an incensiero, decorated gold plates, and iron fibulae decorated with amber, gold and crystal.[45] This is a typical corredo of which the helmets and lance suggest a warrior function, while the decorative nature of the objects and the incense burner could signify a very different position. PCHC (Pozzo with a Cap Helmet with Socket and a Candelabrum) discards the warrior more strongly, containing a bronze cap helmet, a bronze razor, a bronze rod (possible bastone di comando), a small bronze tripod, a boat-shaped vase with swan's head, an impasto candelabrum and fragments of a human-shaped alabaster vase, but lacking weapons of any sort.[46] This tomb contains strong symbols of leadership, but it can hardly be called a warrior tomb. Another example is DBAP (Dolio with Bronze Amphora and Bronze Pectoral), containing multiple bronze vessels, a bronze razor, bronze chest armour, an iron knife, an iron axe and iron horse bits that are very scarce at Tarquinia. A bronze lance point is the only weapon in this tomb that may have been suitable for combat.[47] Tombs of this kind seem to appear especially in Villanovan II and mark an important difference between Veii and Tarquinia.

That the development of the prominent warrior may have been hampered by the necessary adoption of other social roles can be illustrated by a tomb like that of the Guerriero; probably the wealthiest example from Tarquinia's selection.[48] The tomb contains bronze scudi bilobati, bronze shoulder armour, chest armour with decorated gold plate, bronze vessels, silver vessels, a silver/bronze ring with scarab, an iron rod with decorated bone discs (bastone di comando), a bronze knife, a bronze lance, bronze horse bits, an iron dagger, a wooden cup, remains of leather and cloth, painted vases of purified clay and cups with openwork decoration (*fig. 7*). It is the only tomb from Tarquinia containing silver cups; as in Veii this metal appears to have been used in small quantities and on scarce occasions only. Although this tomb contains strong warrior symbols and was named as such it is interesting to note that there is almost no offensive weaponry in the tomb. The presence of a single iron dagger seems meagre in contrast with the abundant armoury and other bronze wares. In addition, the bronze knife and the scudi bilobati suggest that this individual may have been involved in other, perhaps more important, activities.

The most evident example of an individual of a very high social position that was not enforced by military power is found in tomb FBHS (Fossa with a Bull-Headed Staff).[49] The name derives from the presence of a staff of wood and bronze wire, about 90 cm long and topped by the figure of two bull heads with a bird in between. The tomb further contains six bronze discs, a chain of bronze rings, a necklace with bronze, electrum, glass and amber, a bronze flask, 17 small fibulae, silver and four scarabs. The gender of the deceased is unclear since there are no objects that clearly indicate the individual to have been either male or female, but stafflike objects like a sceptre or a cane of command often belong to men. The number of fibulae indicates that the individual must have worn an elaborate dress, decorated with

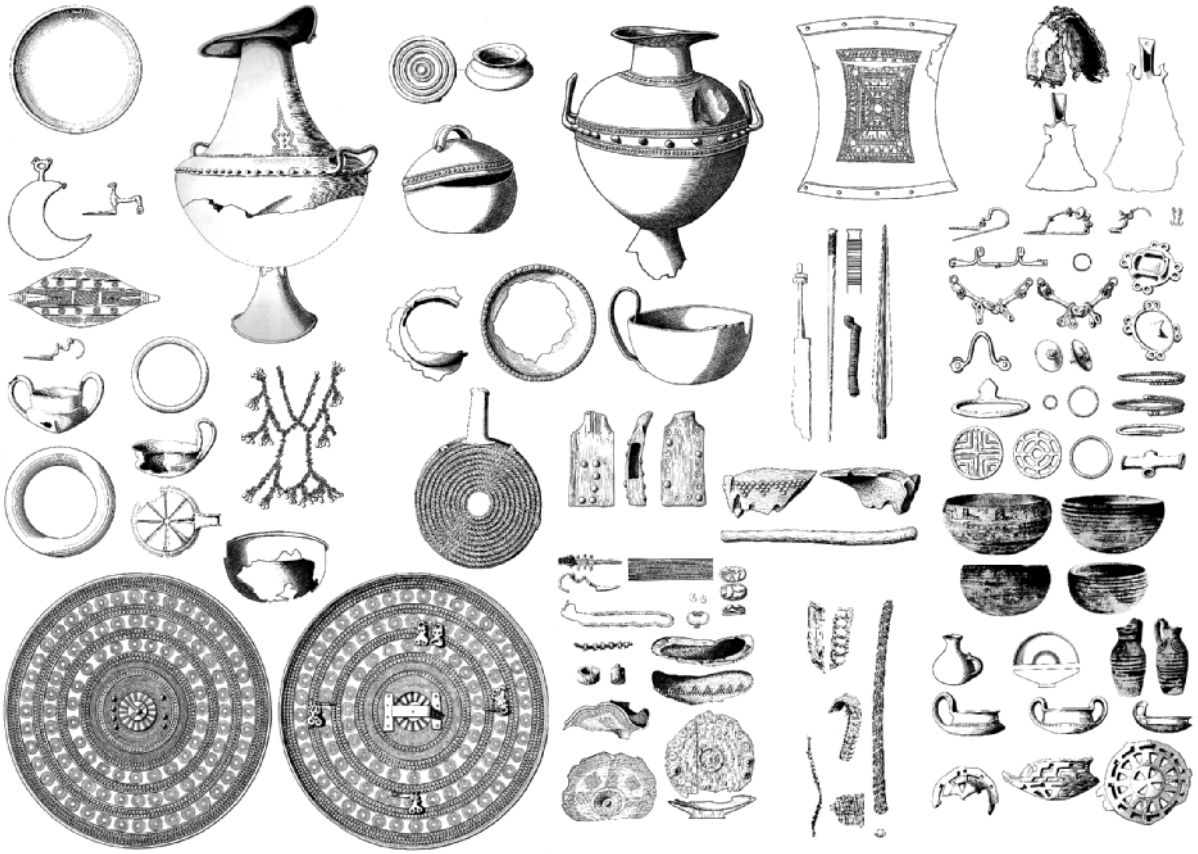

*Fig. 7. The contents of Tomba del Guerriero from Tarquinia, no scaling (*NSc *1970, fig. 180-192, compiled by author).*

bronze and silver jewellery. In combination with the conspicuous staff the idea of some sort of religious figure and a position that involved an eccentric display and most probably ritual and ceremonial activities is very thinkable. A comparable position could definitely not be distinguished this clearly at Veii.

Tarquinia appears to have been a male-driven society in that there are relatively fewer high status females in Tarquinia than at Veii. Only five female high status tombs were selected from the cemeteries of Tarquinia and they can all be dated to Villanovan II (850-725 BC), or in some cases more specifically to IIB (780-725 BC). All of these tombs were from Arcatelle and contain an amount of prestige that can easily match the wealthiest examples from Veii. This supports the suggestion that Arcatelle on the Monterozzi may have been a cemetery that was exclusive to the patriciate. The appearance of iron knives in tombs DGT (Dolio with the Girdle with a Turtle)[50] and MO6[51] in combination with two bronze axes is of notice and would suggest that these women fulfilled an role in relation to ceremony or food preparation; an important social role. DGT further contains a bronze amphora with a bronze cover bowl as the ossuary urn, fibulae with amber and silver, a bronze flask, a bronze situla and tazza and silver spindle-shaped beads with traces of gold decoration. The tomb is mentioned to indicate the growing wealth of Tarquinia in Villanovan IIB.[52] MO6 contributes to that perception, containing a bronze belt, about 30 fibulae, bronze vessels, decorated bronze sheet, gold pendants and a silver fibula.

In both female and male tombs it is important to note Tarquinia's modesty where imported goods are concerned. Not a single piece of impasto rosso, only a few pieces of silver and gold and scarcely any amber, glass or exotic figurines were found in this selection of the most prestigious tombs of Tarquinia. A possible reason for this might be that Tarquinia had a weaker trade position than Veii. Noticeable in this respect is that horse-bits are more common at Veii, for at Tarqui-

nia they only appear in three high status graves. Also, no carts that date before the 7th century BC are known from the latter site.[53] This tells us that horses might have been quite scarce and that this limited the possibilities for travelling longer distances. It seems as if Tarquinia's people were more confined to the stretch of their indigenous culture, while Veii had been subject to foreign influences almost from the first settlement onward.

VERUCCHIO

Twenty-nine high status tombs were selected from the available publications of about 450 tombs from Verucchio. This settlement is said to have been the main centre of the Villanovan culture in Emilia Romagna during the Early Iron Age.[54] The strong Villanovan influences are indeed evident in Verucchio's tombs. But the apparently local traditions and material preferences determine the strongest characteristics of their contents.

Six female high status cremations were selected mostly on basis of the quantity of the many small objects they contain. Female tombs Le Pegge 3 and 4, Lippi XVIII, 13, 47 and 55[55] share almost all characteristics and are mutually comparable. The only difference lies in the quantity of the common materials present and the few rare objects. All of these tombs possess a certain amount of small amber and glass objects. Especially amber seems to be available in larger quantities than at Veii. Tomb 4 and 55 contain hundreds of amber pieces and tomb 47 has thousands of small beads and rings of glass and amber, most likely part of necklaces and bracelets. Glass fibulae, like those found in tombs 4, 13 and 47, or the single glass spindle whorl in Lippi 13, were not found in any of the Central Italian tombs. Decorated bone was found in all the tombs except for XVIII and pieces of impasto figurines were present in 3, 4 and 55. No iron or silver objects were recovered from any of the female tombs and gold only appears on several occasions; in the shape of a fibula in Le Pegge 3 and as gold sheet and a gold fascia in Lippi XVIII. Other noticeable objects are an impasto rosso vase in Le Pegge 3, which is the only example known from this selection, a soapstone scarab and a bronze chest in tomb 4 and a bronze axe and bronze chest in 47.

In general the female tombs all have an equal amount of prestige. The primary activity of all women appears to be expressed by the weaving equipment, found in all tombs. What is important to note is that some valuable objects with a rather original design were used in every tomb to individualize the character of the contents. Observed also during the process of selection was that many of the female tombs, for example from Moroni, contained large quantities of objects of little intrinsic value. Tombs like 26, 27, 28 and 30[56] have dozens of vases, fibulae, decorated bone and amber, but hardly any real prestige items or valuable materials like gold, silver or ivory. Amber is omnipresent however, while it can be considered a rare commodity in other parts of Italy. The minor differences between the high status females can suggest that no ranking existed within their social group at the time of their burial.

The only tomb that could have belonged to a higher ranking female is tomb Lippi 47 (above). The contents of this tomb shows signs of greater complexity through the presence of a bronze axe, a bronze ossuary, countless bronze objects and fragments, 40 highly decorated fibulae, many thousands of amber and glass beads, about hundred decorated bone objects, four horse bits and finds of many bronze screws and nails that signify that there might have been some wooden structures in this tomb that have been lost to us. Apparently more resources were made available for the tomb of this individual. The activity of weaving was less emphasized (only one spindle whorl) and other functions are suggested instead by the bronze axe and the high number of horsebits. It is probable that this tomb marks a later stage of the development towards increasing social complexity.

As in Tarquinia the number of male high status tombs exceeds the female number and expresses itself more strongly. 21 High status male cremations were selected. As in Veii, amber appears to be a lot less popular in male tombs than it is with the women. It is present in different quantities on several occasions, but in a majority of the male tombs no amber was found. The same is the case for objects of glass. Both materials were used mostly for jewellery or the decoration of fibulae, which appears to have been a real craftsmanship at Verucchio,[57] but in all studied cemeteries it is particularly reserved for females. On the other hand, the number of fibulae in male tombs appears to be rather high in Verucchio, perhaps suggesting a different dress code than in Etruria or Latium. Tomb Moroni 23 even contains a bronze belt,[58] normally considered part of the female wardrobe.

There are a few aspects of the corredo that all male tombs seem to have in common. All but five male tombs contain one or more bronze chests that probably held part of the corredo or perish-

able goods. The chest was most probably made of wood and the bronze handles are often all that remains. The wooden or bronze plated chest is not found in such numbers in any of the other sites discussed and it may be considered a typical trait of the tombs from Verucchio. Another typical trait would be the large number of horse bits. For the female tombs four out of six tombs contained horse-bits. As to men, all tombs have two or more bronze horse bits, except for Moroni 17 and 35.[59] Conclusively it seems that horses were available to almost every member of the patriciate at Verucchio. An overall presence of a single status symbol in tombs of both genders could not be observed in Veii or Tarquinia.

That Verucchio would mainly have been a centre of trade can be suggested by the presence of large amounts of amber. As has been said, this precious material was distributed in Central Italy in much smaller quantities. Verucchio's probable position within a network of amber trade is obviously related to its location on the Northern edge of the Villanovan cultural area. The importance of horses is also a good indication that this community actively employed means of fast and long distance travel. The male tombs help to amplify the idea of a trade priority by their apparently below average interest in matters of war. One or multiple iron or bronze lance points were found in nineteen of twenty-one tombs, but the lance was the most common weapon of the entire Iron Age, signifying little more than male gender in most cases. Especially in Verucchio moon-shaped bronze razors were only found on three occasions and perhaps the lance was used instead to emphasize the coming of age. What we generally lack is warrior equipment. A bronze crested helmet was found in Pegge 23,[60] Moroni 17, 23 and 35 (referenced above), but none of these tombs contains a sword. The only weapons are some bronze axes, iron daggers and bronze arrowheads in M23.

The few crested helmet tombs appear to be of early date. The lack of iron in M17 and M23 in combination with the lack of emphasis towards the possible warrior function of these individuals reminds us of crested helmet cremations at Veii, dating to the transition between the 9th and 8th century BC. Tombs P23 and M35 seem slightly more differentiated. They contain iron objects, among which two roasting spits in M35. There is a clearer allocation of function and the suggestion of a secondary social task, which should probably date these tombs later than M17 and M23. The bronze axes are important to discuss here, since one or more were found in ten of the male tombs. Thus far the axe has not been proven to have been part of a warrior's equipment and it has been attributed a function for the preparation of food or, in some cases, for religious ceremonies. Seeing how Verucchio is different from the other Villanovan settlements, however, it is possible that the axe was actually used as a weapon. It does appear to be related to male tombs somewhat stronger than at Veii or Tarquinia, where it was frequently found in female tombs as well.

All in all only five high status men were in possession of a sword, in three cases of bronze. Daggers seem more popular, since one or multiple iron daggers are found in nine of the male tombs. An iron knife was found in tomb IX[61] from Fornace and three bronze knives and an iron knife were found in tomb 89,[62] which will be discussed separately later. It is peculiar to see that the warrior tombs with sword/lance combinations are all of low complexity and that none of the crested helmet tombs contains a sword. Military power was most obviously not the strongest direct influence for vertical social positioning. Lippi 48 and Fornace IX, for example, were found to be of noticeable quality in comparison with the other male tombs, but both of them are quite weak warrior tombs. Instead they contain important insignias of rank of a different nature. Tomb IX contains the remains of a battle chariot, horse bits, a bronze ossuary and other bronze vessels, a bronze presentatoio, two iron lance points and an iron knife. What we can see here is that this individual held authority in different functions, through the weapons of different nature, the battle chariot and the presentatoio, which is a kind of perfume burner. People chose to express these functions clearly and added a bronze ossuary and bronze vessels to further emphasize the importance of the individual. This degree of differentiation should, in comparison with Etruria and Latium Vetus, be sought well into the second half of the eighth century.

Lippi 48 is one of two tombs containing a bronze plated shield. Besides this rarity the tomb contains bronze vessels, a large bronze chest holding the crematory remains, an iron lance, a bronze axe, a gold fibula a drago and some fragments of worked bone and amber.[63] The alternative manner of depositing the ashes of the cremated individual, the usage of a rare piece of decorated gold and the shield indicate that there were sufficient resources for the deposition of highly valuable objects if the concerning individual was important enough. The use of symbolism outside of the prevalent tradition is also seen with the elevated warriors at Veii.

The final stage of the development that we have by now been able to see in all discussed settlements is marked at Verucchio by tomb 89 and its somewhat poorer parallel 85.[64] The conditions for the conservation of wood are not as good in all tombs, but some have been buried to depths of up to six metres, due to which the entire wooden corredo has managed to survive in waterlogged conditions. The wooden ceiling of tomb 85, some remains of clothing and three round wooden tables with three legs have been preserved. They were accompanied by many vessels of black (buccheroid) impasto, a wooden throne, a wooden suppedaneo (footstool), a wooden pyxis, a bronze chest, small pieces of amber and four bronze horse bits. Obviously this tomb would have been much less noticeable if the wood had not been preserved. The contents of the tomb, including the large set of ceramics, are impressive, but of little intrinsic value. The so-called buccheroid impasto would also suggest a date in the 7th century, beyond the scope of this research. But tombs like this are also known from earlier periods at Verucchio; an example would be Lippi tomb B, containing a whole set of wooden furniture conserved at a depth of six metres.[65]

Tomb 89 shows the same usage of wooden furniture, but has been dated to the end of the 8th century or, judging from the complexity of its contents, perhaps even the beginning of the 7th century BC. The tomb itself is a large wooden chest at a depth of about four metres; it contains a wooden throne highly decorated with bronze and displaying the previously mentioned weaving scene, a wooden suppedaneo, a bronze ossuary urn, remains of clothing, the wooden handle of a fan, wooden boxes, a wooden tazza, bronze vases, bronze figures depicting dogs and ducks, two bronze crested helmets, bronze shields (one small), three bronze axes, bronze and iron lances, numerous bronze objects belonging to two different carts, horse bits, possible remains of a sceptre, an iron knife, three bronze knifes decorated with amber and ivory, two iron swords decorated with bone and ivory and it is the only tomb from Verucchio's selection containing silver objects, among which is a comb. The complexity of this tomb is clear to mark the peak of the social development here described and should be placed in the same line as the tombe principesche from Praeneste. Though it lacks the enormous amounts of imported wealth by which the tombe principesche are defined, the information we can get from tomb 89 is the same. There is a complex allocation of function. Strong warrior symbols are combined with several decorated knives that suggest strong influence in the religious sphere. In addition it contains some of the strongest symbols of authority and luxury in the 8th century, like the possible sceptre, the fan, the wooden throne in combination with the footstool and the carts that could have been used for parades. The deposition of a combination of all these items strongly suggests this individual (or these individuals) to have fulfilled the highest position of leadership in Verucchio's society of that period.

CONCLUSION

This paper has been conceived as a comparison between the burial traditions of three contemporary settlements. For this, only the most representative tombs from the highest ranking members of society were chosen from each site. The contents of these tombs illustrate the different ways in which locally available and traded resources were used to express a development of increasing social complexity. Mostly due to the quality and quantity of existing publications unequal samples were acquired for the different settlements. Nonetheless the analysis found that the measure and manner of social change is mostly represented by a small number of tombs that divaricate from the locally prevalent tradition of status expression. In this case this enabled us to underline some important differences between the sites of Veii, Tarquinia and Verucchio.

The complete and excellent publication of Veii's Quattro Fontanili has allowed a lot of researchers to use Veii as an example to review the social developments in Etruria. The analysis of Veii here can confirm the image that has been retrieved from many of these studies. Veii experiences a lot of Oriental influences and it has often been suggested that its contact with the traders of a more developed civilization helped to accelerate the changes within the settlement itself. In theory a stronger influx of wealth and more availability of resources results in stronger inequality and subsequently stronger expressions of these differences in tombs. That family relations were strong at Veii can be illustrated by the prestigious children's burials and the averagely high number of female high status tombs. The primary role expressed in male tombs is very clearly that of the warrior. Although secondary roles are added to the leader's agenda in the later part of the Early Iron Age, the tradition of the warrior tombs remains intact. The militaristic nature of leadership at Veii may be explained by their intensive contact with

Eastern peoples, whose military history was already millennia old. It could also mean that a genuine threat was felt at Veii and that combat was an actual part of life.

The tombs of Tarquinia show that the symbolic or actual warrior was not simply part of an overall Villanovan tradition. The male tombs here appear to prefer symbols of roles in the religious and ceremonial sphere. The highest ranking tombs here contain some pieces of armour but there is hardly sufficient offensive weaponry to suggest the participation in actual combat or even the symbolic importance of a well armed warrior. Also, there are less objects suggesting contact with foreign or local traders (Orientalizing objects and amber) and a lower number of horse bits are found at Tarquinia. Finally, there are fewer female high status tombs, but they are generally wealthier than at Veii. All these differences indicate that although Tarquinia and Veii were part of the same material culture, their settlements were very different. The larger settlement of Veii appears to have had peaceful, and perhaps aggressive, contacts with other peoples while Tarquinia resembles a polity of some isolation. Both settlements grew and developed more complex forms of leadership simultaneously, but different symbols of power were used for the dead. Tarquinia developed positions of leadership that were focused on local life, favouring religion and social activities. Veii's preference for the expression of military power could indicate a stronger awareness of the outside world.

Even greater differences are illustrated by the site of Verucchio, that is located quite far from Tarquinia and Veii. At this small settlement Villanovan power symbolism was well known, but it was combined with a strong local tradition. As a result the tombs contain a mixture of different roles. Female weaving is strong and the possession of horses is emphasized in all tombs. There are good indications that weaving was strongly status related in Emilia Romagna. Furthermore, the tombs are aimed at abundant personal ornamentation and favour luxurious items. The enormous amounts of amber with detailed decorations link this settlement to the amber trade route that reached into Central Italy. It seems very likely that Verucchio represents a community of productive workshops and merchants. This is based on the location of the settlement, the high standard of local craftsmanship and the overall presence of horse-bits. Despite Verucchio's location, rather far from Central Italy, and its different priorities, it was affected by the same development. This resulted in the appearance of tombs with increasingly complex combinations of prestige items in a similar way.

This contribution attempts to show that samples of high status tombs can offer ample basis for the research of social developments at different sites and can sufficiently illustrate the differences between them. With this method we have been able to successfully compare the warrior symbolism and Orientalizing art at Veii with the ceremonial peculiarities from Tarquinia and the local craftsmanship of the horse ridden amber traders at Verucchio. All these settlements were subject to growth in size and resources at the same time, but each reacted differently to the development that was set in motion as a consequence. The different material expression of new social structures in tombs appears to have been specifically related to the possibilities and resources of the local environment. From this we have learned that the status attributed to an item must be determined within its local and temporal context and that it can not simply be measured by its assumed intrinsic value.

NOTES

1 Claessen 2000.
2 Example from Castellace, Pacciarelli 2000, 181-190, Bietti Sestieri 1997, 377.
3 Pacciarelli 2000, 242-250.
4 Pacciarelli 2000, 250; Hencken 1968b, 36.
5 Iaia 1999.
6 Berardinetti 1997, 322.
7 Pacciarelli 2000, 247.
8 Hencken 1968, 183-186.
9 Iaia 1999, 144.
10 Guldager Bilde 1994, 7-13.
11 Bartoloni 2003, 117.
12 Bartoloni 2003, 120.
13 Bartoloni 2003, 119-120.
14 Iaia 1999, 61.
15 Bietti Sestieri 1992, 108.
16 Bartoloni 2003, 120-121.
17 Hencken 1968b, 183-186.
18 Gentili 2003, I, 293-311; Von Eles 2002.
19 Cristofani 1985, 1, fig.1-2, Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna.
20 Bartoloni 2003, 168.
21 Bartoloni 2003, 179.
22 *NSc* 1972, 295.
23 *NSc* 1976, 180.
24 *NSc* 1975, 130.
25 Spivey/Stoddart 1990, 27.
26 Piergrossi/Ten Kortenaar/Acconcia 2004.
27 *NSc* 1967, 138.
28 Berardinetti/Drago 1997, 48.
29 *NSc* 1965, 171; 1970, 296.
30 De Santis 2005b, 6-7.
31 *NSc* 1967.

[32] Fulminante 2003, 243; Bartoloni 2003, 179.
[33] Müller-Karpe, 1974; Buranelli 1997.
[34] De Santis 2005, 8.
[35] Colonna 1991, 82.
[36] *NSc* 1965, 123.
[37] *NSc* 1970.
[38] Palm 1952, 63.
[39] Buranelli 1997, 69; *NSc* 1965, 210.
[40] De Santis 2005, 2.
[41] Hencken 1968, 46-47.
[42] Buranelli 1983, 49-52.
[43] Buranelli 1983, 52-55.
[44] Buranelli 1983, 67-68.
[45] Hencken 1968, 172-178.
[46] Hencken 1968, 330-331.
[47] Hencken 1968, 198-201.
[48] Hencken 1968, 201-220.
[49] Hencken 1968, 275; Zifferero 1995.
[50] Hencken 1968, 191-193.
[51] Zifferero 1995, tabella 2.
[52] Hencken 1968b, 193.
[53] Emiliozzi 1999, n. 132-141.
[54] "Dal IX alla metà circa del VI secolo a.C., Verucchio rappresentò il centro principale di quel ristretto gruppo villanoviano adriatico." Gentili 2003a, 13; 1986, 1.
[55] Respectively, Gentili 2003a, 38-44, 45-49, 132-135, 174-180, 234-246, 254-257.
[56] All included in Gentili 2003a, 83-104.
[57] Boiardi/Von Eles 1997.
[58] Gentili 1985, 71-76.
[59] Gentili 1985, 57-61; 1985, 113-114.
[60] Gentili 2003, I, 89-96; 1985, 71-76.
[61] Emiliozzi 1997, n. 231.
[62] Respectively, Gentili 2003, I, 67-69, 137-140, 189-190, 135-137, 293-311; Von Eles 2002.
[63] Gentili 2003, I, 246-249.
[64] Gentili 2003, I, 282-290.
[65] Gentili 2003, I, 153-154.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 17-45. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033096.

Laconian Bronzes from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas near Phoiniki (Laconia) and from the Acropolis of Athens

Conrad M. Stibbe

Abstract

This is a presentation of largely unknown or even unpublished Laconian bronze material mainly from the Archaic period from two surprising find places on the Greek mainland. On a total of 80 finds from the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas near Phoiniki (Laconia), which are catalogued here, 62 are bronze products. Of these 38 are certainly, 6 possibly Archaic. Next to these, 15 Archaic Laconian bronzes found on the Acropolis of Athens are presented and catalogued. This small but in several respects important complex has no other links with the find place of Apollo Hyperteleatas in the far-away Laconian province than the mere fact that - as a find place of Laconian bronzes - it is equally surprising. The article aims finally at demonstrating that such eminent bronze products as the krater from Vix and the bronze hydriae from Paestum and Sala Consilina can be attributed without any problem to the same production centre, namely Sparta or Laconia, from where obviously all the other bronzes of similar quality and style, discussed here, originated.

Two apparently very unequal sites - a relatively unknown sanctuary of Apollo in the province of Laconia, and the famous acropolis of Athens - are nevertheless taken together here for the same reason: as find places for Laconian bronzes both are exceptional and, from an historical point of view, most interesting.

1. Bronzes from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas

Introduction

The Sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas near Phoiniki in SE Laconia (*fig. 1*) deserves our attention as a find place for archaic and later Laconian bronzes for several reasons. One is that, even without proper excavation, it has produced such a number of good and even excellent quality bronzes as to surpass all the other find places of Laconia in this respect, including the capital Sparta. All the regular excavations of the sanctuaries of Sparta, taken together, have not yielded such a harvest of bronzes as this sole, enigmatic sanctuary of Apollo.[1]

Another reason is, that the bronze finds from Phoiniki (as we may abbreviate the name of this find place briefly) are most helpful in showing that Laconia may be very well considered as the province where such masterpieces as the krater from Vix, the hydriae from Paestum and Sala Consilina and many other exported archaic bronze products, e.g. statuettes, vessels and useful implements originated in the 6th century BC.

Other important aspects, such as the significance of the many dedicatory inscriptions, the historical and religious implications of the bronze

∴=Ruins; PK=Palaekastro; T=Watch-tower; +=Church; Δ=Mountain top. Ancient Names underlined.

Fig. 1. Map of the Cap Malea Peninsula (after BSA *14 (1907/08) 161, Text Plate.*

Fig. 2. View from the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas into the plain of Molaoi. Photo author.

finds, which retain a high level of craftsmanship even during the fifth and later centuries, cannot be discussed here. They are presented only in so far as they contribute to the understanding of my main concern: the archaic Laconian bronzes from Phoiniki and the exceptional importance of the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas.

The sanctuary

The sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas is situated rather high in the mountains belonging to the Parnon massive, at a point which offers a wonderful view into the plain of present day Molaoi (*fig. 2*).[2] It recalls, in a way, the situation of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi, which was, of course, more important and splendid. Apollo had a preference for such lofty locations, as is shown by a number of other sanctuaries of the god. Apart from Delphi we have one at Phigaleia in the central Peloponnese and two in Laconia, at Melana and at Tyros, both on the mountainous east coast of Laconia, as well as others.[3] This preference is expressed also by the Homeric hymn to Apollo, where it says:

> πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τοι καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
> ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἅλαδε προρέοντες
>
> All the peaks find favor with you, and the upper ridges
> Of the high mountains, and the rivers flowing on to the sea…[4]

The sanctuary is mentioned only once in ancient literature, by Pausanias (3.22.10), where he says: 'There is also in this district[5] a sanctuary of Asclepius, about fifty stades from Asopos; the place where the sanctuary is they name Hyperteleatum.'[6] Obviously, in Pausanias' time Asclepius had taken the place of Apollo, as he did elsewhere.[7] A glance at the map (*fig. 1*) makes clear that the sanctuary occupies a central position in the northern part of the Malean peninsula, between Akriai in the west, Asopos in the south and Epidauros Limera in the east, to name only a few of the relatively nearby perioicic towns.[8] It seems that Apollo, more than any other god, was equally worshipped by Spartans and by *perioikoi*.[9] The epithet 'hyperteleatas', which occurs already on the archaic inscriptions found at the sanctuary, probably refers to the special positioning of the sanctuary, high up (*hyper*) and at the end (*telos*) of a ravine.[10]

Official excavations were hitherto very limited and not at all in accordance with the importance of the casual finds on the spot. A first attempt to find traces of the temple of Apollo was undertaken in 1885 on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society (*Hetairia*), which had acquired a part of the casual finds from the owner of the plot in 1884.[11] This first attempt met with no success as far as the temple was concerned,[12] but many finds bear witness of the importance of this first excavation. A second dig, in 1969, by the then responsible archaeologist of the Ephory at Sparta, A. Delivorrias, was only a restricted rescue project undertaken because of the find of a Doric capital (*fig. 3a-b*), which had come to light in a ditch for a telegraph pole.[13] The results this time were more conspicuous. The foundations of a stone building were found (*fig. 4*) and, apart from the Doric capital just mentioned, some other parts of the superstructure of a temple (*fig. 3c*). The stone foundations did not allow for an unambiguous interpretation: they could belong to a stoa (28.00 x 7.50 m) rather than to a temple.[14]

The fact that no other excavation in Laconia has yielded such a quantity of bronzes is difficult to explain, but may be compared with another, rather isolated sanctuary, that of Herakles in Boeotia. On the slopes of Mount Oites, close to the village of Pavliani in Phthiotis, a temenos dedicated to Herakles has been uncovered. It includes a small temple, a large pyre adjacent to it, an altar and a stoa, and dates from the early 6th century BC into Roman times, just as our sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas. According to mythology this was the spot where Herakles threw himself onto a great pyre, in order to escape the pain caused by his chiton soaked in Nessos' poisoned blood. For this reason annual worship was established there. The excavation has brought to light an abundance of bronze artifacts of clearly votive character, many of which are on display in the

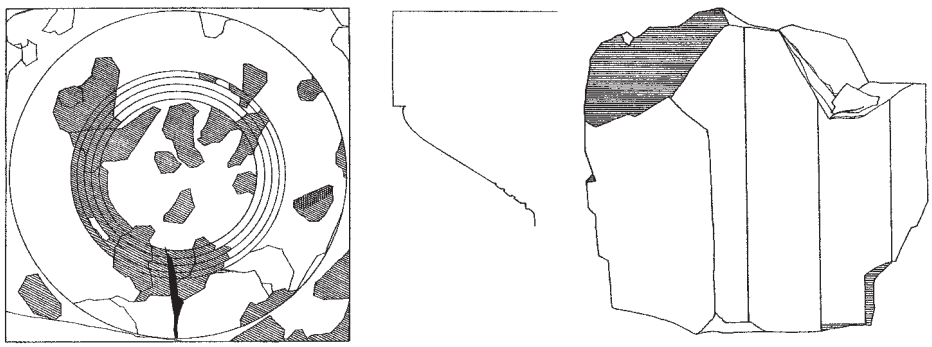


Fig. 3a-c. Architectonical fragments from the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, after Delivorrias 1969, Figs. 3-5.

Fig. 4. Walls of the 'Stoa' in the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas. Photo author.

museum of Thebes. They include bowls, cut-outs of sheet bronze from investment of wooden boxes, such as that in the form of a sphinx, and small bronze statuettes of Herakles.[15]

The finds

The Phoiniki finds are scattered over the following museums: the National Archaeological Museum at Athens (wreaths with inscriptions and bronze objects once belonging to the collections of the Archaeological *Hetairia* and of K. Karapanos), the Musée du Louvre in Paris (wreaths with inscriptions once belonging to the collection of H. Hoffmann, sold in 1888) and the Museum at Sparta (finds from the 1968 excavation). Isolated finds, perhaps from illegal excavations, finished in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (no 40) and in the Akademisches Kunstmuseum in Bonn (no 67).

The Phoiniki bronze finds which are discussed and published here (partly for the first time), are divided into three categories: those belonging to the Archaic period, those of uncertain date; and, as an Appendix, those of Classical and later periods (including a list of objects in other materials). Since our main concern is the bronzes from the archaic period, the others should be regarded as an interesting selection of *addenda* which underscore the importance and unique character of this particular sanctuary through the ages. Moreover, this publication should be regarded as a first attempt to assemble as much archaic and later material from Phoiniki as possible. It is quite probable that additional finds will turn up in the future, since not all finds were accessible to me and some may still lie unrecorded or unrecognized in the storerooms in Athens and elsewhere.[16] A well-organized and well-equipped modern excavation would probably bring to light not only the remains of the temple of Apollo itself, but also many more finds.[17]

Here I will present the archaic and later material from Phoiniki as a catalogue, with each entry consisting of a short description, some illustrations and comments. At the end a general conclusion tries to summarize the importance of the whole complex, including its relationship to the other find places of bronzes in Laconia and Sparta. The only items not included in the catalogue are the well-known bronze wreaths with inscriptions, the majority of post-archaic and even Roman date, published soon after their acquisition in 1884 and comprehensively re-published by Kolbe in 1913 (*I.G.* V, I).

The organization of the catalogue is dictated by the fact that most Laconian bronzes are vessels or useful implements with manifold decorations, including the shapes of animals and humans. Thus no 1, although it seems to be an independent statuette, was most probably really part of the decoration of a volute krater. It therefore appears under the heading 'Volute krater'.

CATALOGUE

Bronzes of the Archaic Period

Volute krater

1. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7614. Statuette of a hydria bearer, probably from a krater-lid. H. 8.5 cm. *Fig. 5.*
De Ridder 1894, no 868. Langlotz 1927, 89 n, no 55, Pl. 49F. J.D. Beazley, Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens, *ProcBritAcad* 30 (1944) 7, Pl. 2:2. Kalligas 1980, 24-25 with n. 8 (bibl.), Fig. 16. Herfort-Koch 1986, 51, 111 no K 112 (bibl.), Pl. 15, 5-6. Vokotopoulou 1997, 84 no 61 (ill. in colour). Rolley 2003, 122. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 282-283, 296 no E6, fig. 27. Stibbe 2007a, no 4.

This unique, often discussed statuette probably belongs to a group of now isolated figures, which have been recognized as belonging to the figural decoration mounted on the lids of volute kraters. Arguments proposed in favour of this hypothesis include the imprints on the rim of the lid of the krater from Vix. These imprints show that statuettes, now lost, were mounted there.[18] The holes for fastening such figures with rivets are preserved, not only on the lid of the krater from Vix, but also on the lid of the White/Levy krater.[19] Two more such isolated statuettes from Laconia are considered to belong to the neck- and lid-decorations of volute kraters,[20] and some other Laconian statuettes, found outside Laconia, can also be added to the group. Taken together they show, surprisingly, that many more Laconian volute kraters were in use in Laconia itself and exported than anyone would have previously thought.[21]

The hydria-bearer from Phoiniki is unique from an iconographical point of view.[22] It represents an old man (the hair on his furrowed brow being lost), probably one of those Laconian bronze workers who specialized in the production of hydriae, of which so many are preserved. He himself has been interpreted as a product of the workshop of the Boston Master and dated around 540-530.[23]

Fig. 5. Hydria bearer. Cat. no 1. Photo Museum.

Fig. 6. Handle in the shape of a kouros. Cat. no 2. Photo Museum.

Hydria

2. Paris, Louvre 2785. Handle in the shape of a kouros. Lower legs of the boy and one lion missing. H. 10.5 cm. L. of lion 5.5 cm. Black patina. *Fig. 6.*
Herfort-Koch 1986, 48, 61, 109-110 no K 103 (bibl.). Stibbe, *Agalmata* 289, 297 no G10 (bibl.), fig. 45. Stibbe 2007a, no 6.

This is an important fragment, not only for its stylistic quality, but also because it is one of three hydriae handles shaped as a kouros which hitherto came to light in Laconia, clearly showing that the most impressive amount of exported bronze Laconian hydriae with kouros-handles of which we know today,[24] is firmly rooted in Laconia itself. Apart from these, we have fragments of five more bronze hydriae from Laconia (listed in Stibbe 2007a, nos 8-13).

3. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 778/4. Fragment of a rim with inscription, probably of a hydria. L. 17.5 cm. W. max. 2.0 cm. Dm. est. 22.0 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 7.*
Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 982. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3f.

Fig. 7. Fragment of the rim of a hydria, with inscription. Cat. no 3. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:

This hydria, with an estimated diameter of 22.0 cm for its rim, must have been relatively small (the average diameter of hydria rims being 5 cm wider).[25] For a similar hydria rim, however, see Gauer 1991, 257 no Hy 5, fig. 26, 1 (est. Dm. 23.0 cm).[26] According to Alan Johnston, in a letter of March 2007, the inscription is 'probably sixth century because of the nu, but could be a bit later'.

Oinochoe

4. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18574. Handle attachment with palmette. H. 4.0 cm, W. 5.8 cm (volutes) and 3.6 cm (palmette). *Fig. 8.*
Kalligas 1980, 24 with n. 7, Pl. 15. Stibbe 1997b, 45, 60 no 90 (Group IV, fig. 19). Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 12, 44 n. 40, fig. 13. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 288, 297 no G7, fig. 43. Stibbe 2007a, no 13.

This fragment can be considered as a master work on the stylistic and chronological level of the oinochoe from Trebenishte in Sofia (Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 40-44,

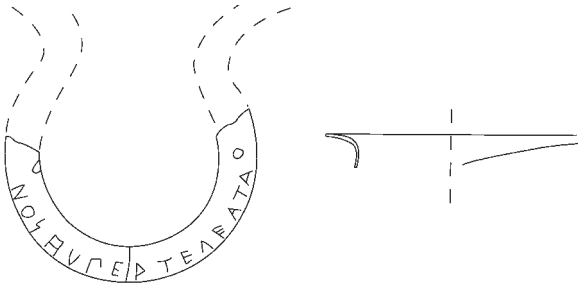
Fig. 8. Handle attachment of oinochoe. Cat. no 4. Photo author.

no 12, figs. 26-30), which has a similar palmette complex below the feet of a handle youth. A dating in the beginning of the third quarter of the 6th century BC is, therefore, warranted.

5. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 778/2. Fragment of a rounded rim with inscription, perhaps of an oinochoe. H. 1.3-1.5 cm, Dm. 7.5 cm. Remade from two fragments. Brownish green patina. *Fig. 9*. Karapanos 1884, 203 no 2, fig. 2. Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 988. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3e.

Fig. 9. Rim fragment of oinochoe. Cat. no 5. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:



This fragment could be part of the mouth of a trefoil oinochoe. The one visible hole may have served for a repair. The eccentric inscription is positioned on the lip, which finishes in a more flattish horizontal part. The lettering should be archaic, but, according to Alan Johnston, in a letter from March 2007, it 'looks more fifth century, probably not late'.

6. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18576 (exc. 1885). Fragmentary loop handle with small lions, perhaps part of an oinochoe. Surface worn. Greenish black patina. H. 4.0 cm, W. of handle 1.3 cm. W. of lions 7.0 cm. Dm. of rim est. 14.0 cm. *Fig. 10*.
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 24 with n. 3. Stibbe 2007b, no 15.

Fig. 10. Fragmentary loop handle with recumbent lions. Cat. no 6. Photo author.

This unique piece shows the experimental bias of the early Laconian bronze workers from around 600 BC. Several contradictory elements hamper a straightforward identification of the shape. The handle, which forms a wide loop, first inwards and than outwards above the rim of the vase, would suit an oinochoe,[27] but its flat and broad shape recalls the handles of mugs rather than of an oinochoe.[28] The borders of the handle are finely finished with a row of (worn) beadings. The two crouching lions seem to have their tails upright outstretched along the handle. They are too small for a normal oinochoe, but show the features of the average Laconian lions of the early period (see below nos 21, 22, 24). There was probably a robust lion protome looking into the vase, a part of its radiating collar mane being preserved at the lower end of the handle. This feature would suite an oinochoe very well, as does the estimated diameter of the (probably trefoil-shaped) rim (14.0 cm).[29] There is a kind of bulge at the break on top of the handle, which may be understood as the trace of some (unusual) ornament.

Podanipter

7. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8168.
Fragment of rim of low tripod stand (going with a podanipter) with inscription. L. 13.1 cm, H. 2.6 cm, W. 2.4 cm. *Figs. 11, 12.*
De Ridder 1894, 6 no 10. Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 986. Milne 1944, 49 no 144. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3

Fig. 11. Fragment of the rim of tripod stand with inscription. Cat. no 7. Photo author.

Fig. 12. The same, the upper face with inscription. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:

According to Alan Johnston, in a letter of March 2007, the inscription shows a 'mix of letter forms, but judging from the latest, probably late archaic; the double *lambda* might suggest something even later'.

8. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8168a.
Fragment of rim of low tripod stand (going with a podanipter), no inscription. L. 7.0 cm, H. 2.3 cm, W. 2.5 cm. *Fig. 13.*
Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 986. Milne 1944, 49 no 144. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3.

Fig. 13. Fragment of rim of tripod stand. Cat. no 8. Photo author.

Nos 7 and 8 are very similar and could belong to the same stand, but there are slight differences in the measurements which make it saver to split them up. Together with no 9, these are the first clear witnesses of the presence of such stands and basins in Laconia.[30] This is all the more remarkable since podanipteres with their low stands are very popular in the archaic and classical periods all over Greece and in the export areas.[31]

9. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavations at Phoiniki). Fragment of the handle of a podanipter with a knob at the centre. L. 8.5 cm, Dm in section 1.0 cm, Dm of knob 2.1 cm. *Fig. 14.*
Not previously published.

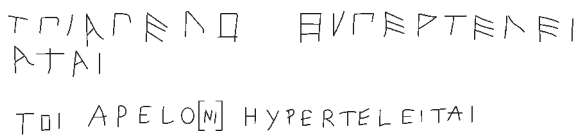
Fig. 14. Fragment of handle of podanipter. Cat. no 9. Photo author.

For the shape of this handle cf. Gauer 1991, 237 no P 7, Pl. 56 and 238 no P 10, Pl. 58.

Bowl (lebes)

10. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8011.
Fragment of the rim (with inscription) and shoulder of a lebes. L. 29.3 cm, W. 5.2 cm, W. of rim 1.2 cm, Dm est. of rim 24.0 cm, H. of lettering 0.7 cm, Green patina. *Figs. 15, 16.*
Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 984. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3c.

The inscription runs as follows:



TOI APELO[NI] HYPERTELEITAI

Although the rim and the preserved part of the shoulder of this vessel are rather creased and crushed, the original shape is clearly recognizable. It belongs to the well known type of the 'geschlossene Kessel', of which many examples are known, especially from Olympia.[32] From Laconia no other examples (apart from our no 11) have been published. The same shape in pottery (usually called 'dinos') is also exceptional in Laconia.[33] The beautiful, eccentric lettering of the inscription on the rim (H. of letters 0.7 cm) confirms a dating in the archaic period. Alan Johnston, in a letter of March 2007, writes: 'Probably the earliest of the set (*alpha, epsilon*), c. 550?'

Fig. 15. Fragment of lebes with inscription. Cat. no 10. Photo author.

Fig. 16. The same, detail. Photo author.

11. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8115. Fragment of rim and shoulder of a lebes. L. 8.2 cm, W. 0.8 cm, Dm. est. ca 20.0 cm. Green patina. *Fig. 17*.
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3b.

Fig. 17. Fragment of lebes with inscription. Cat no. 11. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:

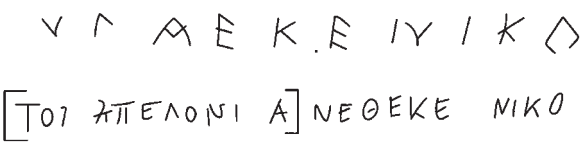
Again this fragment of a lebes is much damaged (like no 10), including the inscription this time, although just enough has been preserved to understand. The rim and shoulder part are crushed and, at one end, split.

Cauldron

12. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 778/3. Rim fragment, offset from the shoulder, with inscription, probably of a cauldron. L. 12.1 cm, H. pres. 1.0 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 18.*
Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 985. Kalligas 1980, 3 with n. 3z.

Fig. 18. Rim fragment of cauldron with inscription. Cat. no 12. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:



The fragment is much damaged. For the shape see Gauer 1991, Abb. 10-11. The inscription is carved upside down on the inside of the vessel along the rim. According to Alan Johnston, in a letter of March 2007, 'Probably late archaic'.

13. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18547, attachment with palmette and swing handle. Dm. grip 10.1 cm, Dm. bolster 6.3 cm, Dm. palmette 3.7 cm. *Fig. 19*.
Kalligas 1980, 24, fig. 15, 1. Stibbe 2007b, no 19.

Fig. 19. Attachment with palmette and swing handle. Cat. no 13. Photo author.

The type of this swing handle, belonging to a cauldron, is fairly well known from Olympia and elsewhere, but rather exceptional among the finds from Laconia. One other example is known from Sparta itself.[34]

14. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation).
Fragmentary attachment with palmette.
The half reels and swing handle are missing, the left volute slightly damaged. H. pres. 7.5 cm, H. of palmette 3.6 cm, W. of palmette ca 4.0 cm. *Fig. 20.*
Not previously published.

Fig. 20. Attachment with palmette. Cat. no 14. Photo author.

The type of the palmette and the decoration with vertical double lines is found with many examples from Olympia, dated in the late archaic period (Gauer 1991, 53-57: 'Spätarchaische Palmettenattaschen der Standardform'; his nos Le 277, 284, 300, 303 and 305 show the same rivet hole in the hart of the palmette). Our palmette has five round-tipped leaves, the central leave being elongated.

15. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation).
Fragmentary attachment with side hole for a swing handle. H. 4.2 cm, W. 4.5 cm. Green patina. *Fig. 21.*
Not previously published.

Fig. 21. Attachment with side hole for swing handle. Cat. no 15. Photo author.

For similar fragments from Olympia see Gauer 1991, 205, no Le 230 and 209 no 269, Pl. 36, 4a-b. Our example may be late archaic; cf. no 14.

Pail

16. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18649.
Attachment with ring and gorgoneion. H. 5.6 cm, H. of gorgoneion 3.5 cm, W. max. 5.6 cm, W. of gorgoneion 3.7 cm. Brown and dark green patina. *Fig. 22.*
Kalligas 1980, 24, fig. 13. Stibbe 2007b, no 22.

Phoiniki is as yet the only find place in Laconia to give us a hint about the existence of Laconian pails. Characteristic for the handles are the attachments with a vertical ring. Cf. Gauer 1991, 112-114 ('Figürliche Attaschen'), Pl. 103 no E6 (with gorgoneion). Laconian features of this gorgoneion are: the plastically emphasized eyebrows, the finely detailed eyes and eyelids and the two scaled braids falling down either side of the face. Otherwise the face is of a late type and rather conventional (see e.g. the Corinthian parallels in Stibbe 1992, 41-42, figs 52-55).

Fig. 22. Attachment with ring and gorgoneion. Cat. no 16. Photo Museum.

17. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18575.
Attachment with ring and palmette. H. 5.0 cm, H. of palmette with volutes 2.2 cm.
Kalligas 1980, 24, fig 15, 2. Stibbe 2007b, no 23.

From Olympia only four similar examples of such attachments called 'Palmettenattaschen mit "Hörnervoluten"' (Gauer 1991, 270 nos E21-E24) are recorded, but they are all of lesser quality and attributed to Corinth; they date to the late archaic and early classical periods. Our example may be late archaic too, but of Laconian manufacture.

Tripod of geometric type

18. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18569.
Circular vertical handle with zigzag motif between ornamented borders, at the lower end decorated with uncurling snakes. Dm. 13.2 cm, W. with snakes 20.0 cm. Dark grayish green patina. *Fig. 23.*
Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 4, fig. 12. Stibbe 2007b, no 35.

Fig. 23. Tripod handle of geometric type. Cat. no 18. Photo Museum.

The non-geometric production date can be gathered from the ornaments (rows of beadings and pearls along the borders of the circular grip) and the snakes. The type of the

latter, with their broad heads and short sharp muzzles, point to a date in the last quarter of the 7th century. Cf. Gauer 1991, 248 no Te 7, fig. 1.3. Stibbe 2004b, 50. There is a fragment of a similar handle from Sparta, decorated at the top with a standing lion (inv. No 2030).

Rod tripod

19. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation). Bent stem with flower bud. H. 2.5 cm, L. of stem 6.0 cm. Dm. in section 1.0 cm. *Fig. 24*.
Not previously published.

Fig. 24. Bent stem with flower bud from rod tripod. Cat. no 19. Photo author.

Exactly the same bent stems with flower buds are found as filling ornaments next to the palmettes on the rod tripods from Metapontum and Trebenishte (see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 79 fig. 49 and 82, fig. 53).

Situla

20. Fragment of the swing handle of a situla (from the 1968 excavation). Bent stem with flower bud. Much corrosion. L. 4.8 cm, H. of bud 1.6 cm. *Fig. 25*.
Not previously published.

Fig. 25. Bent stem with flower bud from situla handle. Cat. no 20. Photo author.

Similar swing handles are known from Olympia (Gauer 1991, 118-122, 'Eimerhenkel und Verwandtes', nos E 88-E 115, Pls. 104-105). Our example could be late archaic.

Fibula

21. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18648. Fibula decorated with a chimaera. H. 2.8 cm, H. of chimaera 1.7 cm, L. 4.5 cm, L. of chimaera 3.7 cm. Brown patina. *Fig. 26*.
Kalligas 1980, 21 with n. 2, fig. 9b. Stibbe 2007b, no 45.

Fig. 26. Fibula with chimaira. Cat. no 21. Photo author.

The tripartite monster is shown with its tail curling up as a snake whose head touches the horns of the long-necked goat. Both goat and lion have long muzzles. The mass of hair above the forehead of the goat is cross-hatched. The lion, with his radiating collar mane and flame-like plastically shaped neck mane is otherwise of the common Laconian type. In front of the lion's forepaws there is a ram's protome, beneath which is the foot of the fibula pin consisting of two roll-like blocks, one of which is broken off. Beneath the tail of the lion is the head of the fibula, shaped as an anchor. The production of buckles decorated with animals was a special achievement of the Laconian bronzeworkers in the first quarter of the 6th century BC. Most show a crouching lion (like our no 22),[35] but examples with sirens are also known (Stibbe 2001, 25, figs. 33-36). For the goat cf. *AO* 200, Pl. LXXXVII b ('probably a hook'). Our example may date from the same period, around 590-580 BC.

22. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7792. Fibula decorated with a lion. H. 3.4 cm, L. 5.7 cm. Bluish green patina. *Fig. 27*.
Kalligas 1980, 21 with n. 2, fig. 9,1. Stibbe 2007b, no 51.

Fig. 27. Fibula with recumbant lion. Cat. no 22. Photo author.

All the known Laconian lion-fibulae of the first quarter of the 6th century BC (cf. note 35) are equipped with a S-shaped tail ending in a bearded snake protome. This curious fact is not so easy to explain. Normal Laconian crouching lions with the same S-shaped tail, dating from the same or later periods (such as our no 13 from the Athenian acropolis), have tails ending in the knot of a real lion. Probably the convention of the snake tail was introduced by a leading master and taken from chimaera-fibulae, such as our example no 21.

23. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8211. Fibula of the bow-type. L. 4.5 cm. Green patina.
Kalligas 1980, 21 with n. 2, fig. 9c.

Cf. AO 201, Pl. LXXXVII g, dated to the 7th century.

One-handled mug (kothon)

24. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8594.
Complete, rather worn handle with lion protome and four snake protomes probably of a mug with circular grip. H. 5.8 cm. W. 6.4 cm. Dm. of rim est. 8.0 cm. Green- brownish patina. *Figs. 28, 29, 30a-b*.
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 24 with n. 4.

Fig. 28. Handle with one lion- and four snakeprotomes, back view. Cat. no 24. Photo author.

Fig. 29. The same, front view.

This unique piece deserves our special attention. It shows the original and experimental spirit of the Laconian bronze workers from around 600 BC.[36] The broad circular grip is of a type which, in clay, is found only with beakers.[37] This could be regarded as an argument in favour of the reconstruction of the shape as a mug going with the handle as shown in fig. 30a-b.

On the other hand there is the lion protome looking into the vase, as is almost standard with bronze oinochoae.[38] The type of the protome, with its round contour, short muzzle and radiating collar mane, is of early Laconian stock.[39] The slightly curving upper snake-arms, in which the rim of the vase was incorporated, also point to a (trefoil) oinochoe-mouth. So this vase seems to be a hybrid somewhere between a mug and an oinochoe. The type of the snake-heads with short pointed muzzles belongs to an early period (cf. the snakes of no 18). The central connecting piece between the two pairs of snakes has a semicircular ending on which three or four palmette leaves are incised with double contour lines.

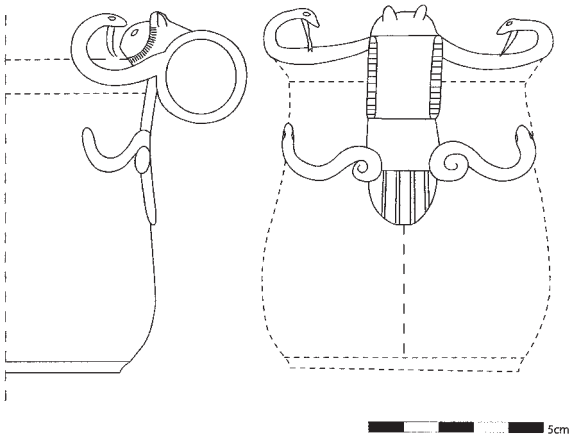


Fig. 30a-b. The same, drawings of the back and the profile. Drawings by author.

25. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 777. Complete, but much damaged round rim with inscription, probably of a one-handled mug (kothon). Dm ca 10.0 cm, H. pres. ca 1.5 cm. Black greenish patina. *Fig. 31.* Karapanos 1884, 203 no 3, fig. 1, 3. Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 983. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3d.

Fig. 31. Rim of a mug with inscription. Cat. no 25. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:

ΓΟΙΑΡΕΛ ΟΝΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ [ΕΟΝΥΜΟΣ]

The inscription is incised at the outside of the rim. According to Alan Johnston in a letter of March 2007, 'Late-archaic to mid C5?'. At one point two rivets, 2.6 cm distant from each other, are preserved (pointing to a one-handler). Similar rim-shapes are rather common in clay with mugs of all kinds.[40] A similar bronze rim-shape is on display in the National Archaeological Museum and belongs to what is called a 'skyphos' from Dodona, inv. no KAR 441, dated to the 5th cent.

Statuette: naked man with beard

26. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7730. Naked man, very worn. H. 11.5 cm, H. of his head 2.7 cm. Green patina (upper half) and brown patina (lower half).
Th. Soufoulis, *Prakt* 1885, 32. Kalligas 1980, 18 with n. 4, fig. 1. Stibbe 2007b, no 73.

This statuette, which at a first glance looks like a naked man with a (broken off, high crested) helmet, seems on closer scrutiny to be a wastrel, the protrusion on the head being a broken off end of the armature for casting. His being found in two parts (the upper half covered with a green, the lower half with a brown patina) reinforces this possibility; it even strengthens to the supposition that a bronze workshop may have existed near the sanctuary. On the other hand the fact that, around the protrusion, the hair of the man has been worked out in scaled courses (made in the cold), suggests another solution: that he served as a supporting figure for some useful implement. Another, small, protrusion at the back of his right knee might suggest that he was kneeling in the same way as other supports do.[41] Whatever the answer, this man remains enigmatic because of his beard and because he is naked. His outstretched left hand may have held a staff or even a lance. Naked, bearded men are an exception in a Laconian environment. Beardless kouroi are the rule. There is an early 6th century example of a naked man with a beard replacing a side handle of a multifigured hydria.[42] A contemporary example is the hydria-bearer from the same find place: our no 1. See also our no 31. Outside Laconia similar figures represent Zeus or Herakles.[43] So we may consider also our statuette as a godlike figure.

Statuettes: kouroi

27. Paris, Louvre 100. Small kouros. H. 7.7 cm.
De Ridder 1913, 21 no 100. Herfort-Koch 1986, 104 no K 77. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 274, 294 no A4. Stibbe 2007b, no 76.

This kouros, of a rather primitive appearance, has been attributed to an early 6th century phase of the Laconian kouros-type (ca 580-570) and to a local workshop (Stibbe, *Agalmata* 274).

28. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7533. Fragmentary kouros. H. 19.3 cm, H. est. 28.0 cm. Dark brown patina. *Fig. 32*.
De Ridder 1894, 145 no 820. Deonna 1930, 260, Pl. 189. Langlotz 1927, 31 no 23, Pl. 20b. Buschor 1950, 89, figs. 99-100. N. Kontoleon, Theräisches, *AM* 73 (1958) 127. C. Rolley, *FdD* V, 121 n. 2. G. Kokkorou-Alewras, *Archaische naxische Plastik* (1975) 69-70, no K53. Herfort-Koch 1986, 45 with n. 163. G. Kokkorou-Alewras, *Antike Plastik* 24 (1995) 115 no 80, Pl. 43. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 285, 296, no F3, figs. 36-38. Stibbe 2007b, no 81.

Fig. 32. Fragmentary kouros. Cat. no 28. Photo author.

Apart from the eccentric attribution to a Naxian workshop by Kokkorou-Alewras, this fragmentary but important statuette has always been considered as Laconian. Together with two other, very fine statuettes from Delphi, all showing a remarkable size and an eclectic taste, the Phoiniki statuette belongs to the so called 'Delphi Group', dating from the late third quarter of the 6th century BC (Stibbe, *Agalmata* 284-286). The statuette may represent Apollo himself.

29. Paris, Louvre 107. Small kouros with raised arm. H. 7.0 cm.
De Ridder 1913, no 107, Pl. 12. Herfort-Koch 1986, 52, 112 no K 114.

A primitive, locally made kouros, throwing a spear, datable in the third quarter of the 6th century, like no 31 (Herfort-Koch).

30. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7536. Small kouros with raised arms. H. 13.5 cm.
De Ridder 1894, no 806, fig. 3. Kalligas 1980, 18-19, fig. 4. Herfort-Koch 1986, 52, 112 no K 115.

This fragmentary statuette of a naked youth or man has been called a hoplite (throwing a spear with his right, raised arm) and a product of a local workshop (Kalligas), but, because of his beard, another interpretation, as a Zeus throwing his thunderbolt (De Ridder) would seem more appropriate (see above no 27). A dating ca 550-525 (Herfort-Koch) may be right.

31. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7543.
Handle of a phiale (?) in the shape of a youth. H. 7.0 cm.
De Ridder 1894, no 821, fig. 7. Herfort-Koch 1986, 48, 110 no K 106.

This is the third example (after nos 30 and 31) to show that a primitive, provincial output, next to first class bronzes, was certainly possible in an important sanctuary as the one at Phoiniki. The interpretation as the handle of a patera (De Ridder) or phiale (Herfort-Koch) is based on both his arms being raised. This would be an absolute exception within the Laconian repertoire.

Various objects

32. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavations at Phoiniki). Straight pin with heavy disk-shaped head and two large rings. Corroded. L. pres. 8.0 cm, Dm. of the head 2.0 cm, Dm of rings 1.2 cm. Green patina. *Fig. 33*. Not previously published.

Fig. 33. Fragmentary straight pin. Cat. no 32. Photo author.

From the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia many more straight pins of this type are known (*AO* 200, Pl. LXXXVI), one example with a dedicatory inscription to ELEUTHIA.[44] Examples were found also in the Menelaion, the Amyklaion and in a sanctuary at ancient Aigai in Laconia.[45] Some are dated by context to the second half of the 7th century, but could go down till about 600 BC.[46] They are also found as votives in lead (Boss 2000, 120-121). Many examples are known from the Heraion at Argos.[47]

33. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 10708. Running gorgon. H. 7.8 cm, W. of wings 7.2 cm, W. of ell bows 5.2 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 34*.
De Ridder 1894, no 910. Kalligas 1980, 24, fig. 14. Stibbe 2001, 20, fig. 27. Stibbe 2007a, no 92.

Fig. 34. Running Gorgon. Cat. no 33. Photo author.

This running gorgon, made in relief, has a curved shape and holes in its wings for fastening to an object. It could have served, therefore, as a decorative investment on a cylindrical wooden box. The gorgon has been dated to the first half of the 6th century BC (Stibbe 2001, 20).

34. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavations at Phoiniki). Fragment of a bronze plaque, perhaps a shield device.; preserved is the right ear, probably of a gorgon. H. 5.0 cm, W. 3.5 cm. Green patina. *Fig. 35*. Not previously published.

Fig. 35. Fragment of bronze plaque. Cat. no 34. Photo author.

For similar ears of gorgons, see the more completely preserved bronze plaques in H. Philipp, Archaische Silhouettenbleche und Schildzeichen in Olympia. *OF* 30 (2004) 407 no H, Pl. 109, 2 (from Sparta) and Pl. 109, 1 (purchased at Xylokastro, on the Peloponnese). For the latter, very fine, example see also Cat. *The Centaur's Smile*, Princeton 2003, 322-324 no 87 (ill. in colours).

35. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation). Fragment of a decorative unit with a flowerbud at one end and the talons of a bird at the other.
Delivorrias 1969, 139. Pl.135a. *BCH* 95 (1971) 888, fig. 185. Herfort-Koch 1986, 69 with n. 248. Stibbe *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 87. Stibbe 2007b, no 39.

According to Delivorrias 1969, 139 this fragment (brought to him by a villager from Phoiniki) was part of the handle of a large hydria (the feet of a bird belonging to a siren). According to Herfort-Koch, 1986, however, it is part of the ornamentation of a rod tripod. She does not explain how the combination of a bird at one end and a flowerbud at the other would be adjusted to such a tripod.

36. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavations). Large fragment of a dedicatory wreath (?), but without an inscription. L. 18.5 cm, W. max. 2.7 cm. Green patina. *Fig. 36*.
Not previously published.

Fig. 36. Fragment of a wreath. Cat. no 36. Photo author.

Many such wreaths, with dedicatory inscriptions, have been found at Phoiniki. See above, the Introduction and below, the List of Publications.

37. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 778. Handle of a mirror with inscription. L. 11.0 cm. *Fig. 37* (after Kolbe).
Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 989. *SEG* 11, 908. Jeffery/Johnston 1990, 199 no 17. Kalligas 1980, 22 with n. 1.

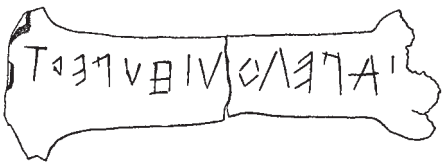


Fig. 37. Handle of a mirror. Cat. no 37. Drawing after Kolbe.

This fragmentary handle of a mirror, remade from two pieces, has been taken as a wreath by Kolbe. The inscription has been dated by him around 500 BC, but Alan Johnston, in a letter from March 9, 2007, 'would have thought it earlier than 500 - *epsilon*, direction, general ductus'.

38. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles. Small goat with inscription.
Fröhner 1888, 26 Pl. 9. *SEG* 11, 905. Kalligas 1980, 20 with n. 4. Jeffery/Johnston 1990, 200 no 35.

Bronzes of uncertain date

39. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18514.
Fragmentary stopper with mouse. Dm. pres. 11.0 cm. L. of mouse with tail 5.5 cm (without tail 2.4 cm). Greenish black patina. *Figs. 38a-b.*
De Ridder 1894, no 804. Kalligas 1980, 22 with n. 4.

Fig. 38a. Fragmentary stopper with mouse. Cat. no 39. Fig. 38b. The same, detail. Photos author.

This is, for Laconia, a unique piece. More mice can be imagined along the rim of the stopper. For a similar decoration of a bronze object see the mouse (L. 3.4 cm) on a human right forearm attached to an iron rod from the Heraion at Argos in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens: Waldstein 1905, 203 no 30, Pl. LXXVI. It cannot rule out, however, that this stopper is part of the centrepiece at the inside of a hoplite shield, decorated with ichneumons, the ichneumon being a Nilotic mongoose revered in Egypt for its destruction of snakes and compared to hoplites because of its fighting techniques. A similar mouse or ichneumon was found as part of the decoration of a shield in a chamber tomb in southern Thrace, dating to the late 4th century BC (Inci Delemen, *AJA* 110, 2006, 264-268, fig. 18 with further references).

40. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8418.
Ear (hollow cast) and small part of head of a slightly less than life-sized statue of a silen or a horse. L. 7.5 cm, W. max. 3.5 cm. Greenish-brown patina. *Fig. 39a-c.*
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 20.

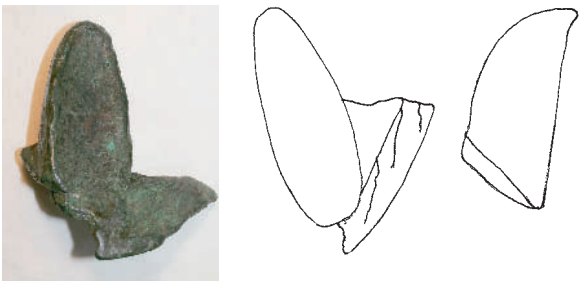


Fig. 39a. Ear and part of head of a silen. Cat. no 40. Fig. 39b. The same, drawing of front view. Fig. 39c. The same, drawing of profile view. Photo and drawings author.

This fragment must have been part of a most impressive statue, probably of a silen (not of a cow, as Kalligas suggested), possibly of late archaic date. Hollow cast statues of such a size have not been identified in Laconia hitherto. The ear was separately cast and adjusted to what remains of the head (a small zone with irregular incised lines, possibly indicating hair).

41. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18596.
Ferrule or spike of a spear (sauroter). H. 6.2 cm.
Greenish-brown patina. *Fig. 40.*
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 20 with n. 2. Gorrini 2002-2003, 173.

This ferrule at the butt end of a spear, used to stick the spear into the ground, has a pyramid-shaped point and a connecting disk with the body, whereas the body itself is divided up in six horizontal layers bordered by a thin plastic band between lines. A rivet hole in the second zone from the bottom served for fastening to the shaft. On one side the surface of the mantle is broken up and crushed. For spear-butts in general see A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, Edinburgh 1964, 133. For similar spikes see H. Weber, Angriffswaffen, *OF* 1 (1944) 159, Pl. 68 e, f and g, which, however are explained by Weber as 'Stabspitzen'.

Fig. 40. Ferrule or spike of spear. Cat. no 41. Photo author.

42. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8046.
Arrow head. the cusp broken off, tripartite. L. 7.5 cm, W. 2.1 cm. Greenish patina. *Fig. 41.*
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 20 with n. 2. Gorrini 2002/2003, 173.

Fig. 41. Arrow head. Cat. no 42. Photo author.

Another armor dedication after no 42. Similar arrow heads were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (see *AO* 201, Pls LXXXVII, h and LXXXVIII g, both dated by context to the 7th century, but more sharply pointed in shape). See also H. Weber, *OF* 1, 161-162.

43. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8593.
Handle of sieve, with inscription.
De Ridder 1894, no 814. Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 980. Kalligas 1980, 22 with n. 2, fig. 10. Jeffery/Johnston 1990, 447 no D.

APPENDIX

Bronzes of the Classical and Later Periods

44. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 778/1.
Large fragment of an offset horizontal rim with inscription, possibly of a cauldron. L 16.0 + 9.0 cm, W. 1.3 cm, Dm. ca 40.0 cm. Brown patina.
Karapanos 1884, 204 no 4. Kolbe, *I.G.* V, I, no 987. Kalligas 1980, 23 with n. 3.

The inscription runs as follows:

Meister SGDI 4541 dates the inscription to the 4th century, Kolbe calls the letters even 'recentiores'.

45. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18551.
Fragmentary mirror with incised decoration. H. 18.5 cm, Dm. of disc 12.0 cm, L. of handle 6.5 cm. On upper part of handle an incised palmette with upcurving volutes above frieze of zigzags. *Fig. 42.*
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 21 n. 3.

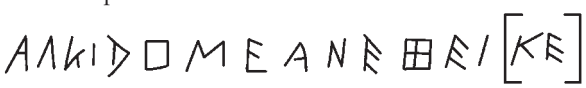
Fig. 42. Fragmentary mirror. Cat. no 45. Photo author.

For this and the next four examples (nos 46-50) cf. P. Oberländer, *Griechische Handspiegel*, Hamburg 1967, 53-53 ('Griechischer Einheitstypus').

46. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8449.
Lower circular ending of the handle of a mirror with inscription. At the back of the inscription an incised rosette with small circles around the hole. Brownish green patina. Dm. 4.2 cm, Dm. of central hole 0.8 cm. *Fig. 43.*
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 21 with n. 4.

Fig. 43. Lower circular ending of mirror handle with inscription. Cat. no 46. Photo author.

The inscription runs as follows:



47. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18550.
Three fragments of a mirror with incised decoration at the upper part of the grip: a horizontal row of circles above a zigzag frieze. a) Fragment of disc (restored from two fragments), Dm 12.5 cm. b) Fragments of disc with grip, H. 15.0 cm. c) Fragment of grip with circular ending, H. 4.0 cm, Dm. of circular ending 3.2 cm. Total H. est 24.0 cm. Brown patina. *Fig. 44.*
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 21 with n. 3.

Fig. 44. Fragments of mirror. Cat. no 47. Photo author.

Fig. 45a. Disc of mirror. Cat. no 48. Photo author.

Fig. 45b. Handle of mirror. Cat. no 49. Photo author.

Fig. 46. Fragment of disc of mirror. Cat. no 50. Photo author.

48. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18552. Disc of a mirror, worn with holes, restored from two fragments. Two rivets for fastening of the grip preserved. Dm. 10.5 cm. Green patina. *Fig. 45a.* Not previously published.

49. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18584. Handle of a mirror with incised decoration: at the upper part of the grip a horizontal row of circles above a zigzag pattern; on the circular ending a row of circles around the border. L. 11.1 cm, W. 1.8 cm, W. of the circular ending 2.1 cm. Th. 0.2 cm. Green patina. Fig. 45b. Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 21 with n. 3. *Fig. 45b*.

50. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18553. Fragment of the disc and handle of a mirror (the handle being bended) with much corrosion. 12.5 x 10.2 cm, Dm. est. 14.0 cm, L. of fragmentary grip 3.5 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 46*. Not previously published.

51. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18568 (from the 1885 excavation). Miniature oinochoe on a tripod stand (only one leg preserved) with a high-looped handle (upper half missing), palmette at lower attachment. Open bottom for libation purpose. H. 12.0 cm, H. of stand 3.0 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 47*. Kalligas 1980, 22 with n. 6, fig. 11 (upside down).

Cf. the very similar and better preserved miniature oinochoe, National Archaeological Museum 7956, from the sanctuary of the Eleusinian Demeter at Dimitra (Arcadia), dated to the 3rd century BC.[48] Cf. also a libation vase in the shape of a lion couchant, with the mouth and handle of an oinochoe of similar shape, National Archaeological Museum 13064 from the sanctuary of Zeus Nomios at Berekla (Arcadia), dated to the end of the 6th century BC.[49]

Fig. 47. Miniature oinochoe. Cat. no 51. Photo author.

Fig. 48. Fragmentary lamp. Cat. no 52. Photo author.

52. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18515 (from the 1885 excavation). Fragmentary lamp. Upper part with handle attachment preserved. Dm. 5.6 cm. L. of mouth 2.5 cm. Brown patina. *Fig. 48*.
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 22 with n. 5.

This lamp, of which the (tripod-) base and the loop handle are missing, is of a very fine quality. For the type see D.M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* IV, *Lamps of Metal and Stone and Lampstands*, London 1996, 10 no Q 3554 MLA, Pl. 6.

Fig. 49. Handle of kalpis. Cat. no 53a. Photo author.

53a. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 775. Handle of a kalpis. L. 19.0 cm. H. upper attachment 7.3 cm, H. lower attachment with part of body 7.6 cm. Dark green patina. Lower attachment decorated with flowers and plant motifs. *Fig. 49*.
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 25 with n. 1.

According to Kalligas, this handle could belong to the same hydria as the foot in the next entry. The refined decoration of both fragments does not contradict this hypothesis. For the type see below.

53b. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 776. Foot of kalpis. H. 4.0 cm, H. of foot 3.0 cm, Dm. max. 15.0 cm. Green patina. Relief decoration with hanging palmettes. *Fig. 50*.
Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 25 with n.1.

Fig. 50. Foot of kalpis. Cat. no 53b. Photo author.

There is a close parallel for both the handle and the foot on a complete preserved kalpis from Rhodos, belonging to the group 'Kalpiden mit getriebenen Attaschen' (Diehl), which are dated to the (later) 4th century BC. The ornamentation of the lower attachment with only vegetable ornaments is exceptional.[50] For a close parallel of the foot, with the side handles also preserved, see M. Comstock/C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1971, 301 no 427 with ill.

54a. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7829. Fragment of a male figure: a hollow cast (lead filled) upper right leg with glutaeus and pubes in oblique position, right buttock, small parts of belly and left leg, possibly of a discobolus. H. 11.5 cm, W. incl. buttock 7.0 cm, Dm. upper leg 4.5 cm. Green patina. *Figs. 51; 52a*. Kalligas 1980, 20 with n.1, fig. 6a. Herfort-Koch 1986, 53, 114 no K 124.

This fragment of a hollow cast male human figure is of a very fine quality. Its estimated height would be ca 50 cm. The lower right leg no 55b may belong to the same statuette. If the fragment no 56 would belong also to this statuette, it could have been a spear-throwing athlete. For the type see e.g. the bronze youth from the Antikythera wreck, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13396: B.S.

Fig. 51. Right leg of male figure. Front view. Cat. no 54a. Photo author.

Fig. 52a. The same, side view. Photo author.
Fig. 52b. Lower right leg of human figure. Cat. no 54b. Photo author.
Fig. 52c. Left arm and hand of human figure. Cat. no. 55 Photo author.
Fig. 52d. Left foot of human figure. Cat. no 56. Photo author.

Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Chicago 1997, Pl. 83a-d, especially Pl. 83b (detail).

54b. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7829b.
Fragment of human figure: hollow cast (lead filled) lower right leg with foot. H. 9.7 cm (10.3 cm with plug). Dm. of calf 2.8 cm. Greenish brown patina. *Fig. 52b*.
Kalligas 1980, 20 with n. 1, fig. 6b. Herfort-Koch 53, 114 no K 124.

Although it does not actually fit, this fragment could belong to the same statuette as no 54a, because of its quality, its technical features and its measurements. Herfort-Koch 1986, 114 no K 124 has for both 54a and 54b the inventory no 18512 and a reference to De Ridder 1894, no 943. The quality and the style may be compared with those of the bronze youth from the Antikythera wreck, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13396; see Ridgway, like no 54a, Pl. 83 a-d, especially the detail Pl. 83b.

55. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18646.
Fragment of a human figure: a hollow cast left arm and hand, closed to a hollow fist. L. 10.2 cm. Brown patina. *Fig. 52c*.
Kalligas 1980, 20 with n. 1, fig. 6c.

This is again a hollow cast fine quality piece, which could belong to the same statuette as nos 54a-b, but the patina and the workmanship are a little different. The hollow fist could have held a spear, which would possibly explain the twisted attitude of the athlete no 55a. A similar isolated, hollow cast (right) arm, of a krotala-player, has been found on the akropolis of Sparta (Herfort-Koch 1986, 39, 103 no K 75).

56. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18647.
Fragment of a human figure: a hollow cast left foot, cracked on the left side. L. 6.7 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 52d*.
Kalligas 1980, 20 with n. 1, fig. 6d.

Another fine quality fragment of a hollow cast human figure. The measurements are somewhat different from the foot of no 55b (W. 2.7 cm against 2.5 cm for no 55b), as is the quality of the details and the patina. Nevertheless it could belong to it.

57. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7599.
Fragmentary naked youth with slightly raised right hand. H. 9.2 cm, H. est. 11.0 cm. Brown patina. *Fig. 53*.
De Ridder 1894, 146 no 822 with ill. Langlotz 1927, 81-82 no 18. Kalligas 1980, 19 with n. 2. *Fig. 53*.

This kouros has been attributed by Langlotz to Corinth and dated ca 500 BC. Kalligas, however, prefers a Laconian workshop. For the gesture of the right hand he compares a known statuette of an Apollo from Karya (Laconia), published by Karouzos as an 'Apollo Hyperdexios'.[51] Our kouros is of a very fine sculptural quality, recognizable especially at the back. He may be an elder brother of no 59.

58. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7601.
Fragmentary naked youth with raised right arm. H. 7.0 cm, H. of head 1.3 cm. Greenish black patina. *Fig. 54*.
De Ridder 1894, no 808. Kalligas 1980, 19 with n. 3, fig. 5a. *Fig. 54*.

Fig. 53. Naked youth with slightly raised right hand. Cat. no 57. Photo author.

Fig. 54. Fragmentary naked youth with raised right arm. Cat. no 58. Photo author.

Fig. 56. Fragmentary statuette of a girl. Cat. no 60. Photo author.

Fig. 55a. Fragmentary naked youth, back view. Cat. no 59. Photo author.

Fig. 55b. The same, front view. Photo author.

This boy seems to be an offspring of a Laconian kouros from the acropolis of Sparta, who in the same way keeps his right arm raised and his left arm down with a hollow fist, where a spear could be attached.[52] But for contemporaries of our kouros we have to look to the stylistically more advanced 'Perseus' type, some examples of which also originate from Sparta. They are dated ca 450 and a little later.[53]

59. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7555.
Fragmentary naked youth. H. 19.5 cm. Light brown patina. *Fig. 55a-b*.
De Ridder 1894, 147 no 825. Kalligas 1980, 28 with n. 2, fig. 22.

This is a very fine statuette of a boy dating to the Hellenistic period, as is shown by his small head, long neck, empty facial expression and the weak, fleshy rendering of the body. Cf. Stewart 1990, fig. 564 ('Fouquet' Alexander) and fig. 681 (athlete adjusting his crown, dated ca 300 BC).

60. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7560.
Fragmentary statuette of a girl clad in a peplos. H.8.0 cm, H. of the head 1.5 cm. W. of shoulder 2.5 cm. Brown patina. *Fig. 56*.
V. Staïs, *Marbres et Bronzes*, Athens 1907, 272-273. Langlotz 1927, 31 no 15. Kalligas 1980, 19 with n. 1.

An elegant female pendant to the kouros no 59. The back view, which has not been published previously (*fig. 56*), shows the coiffure, the borders of the peplos leaving the arms uncovered and the straight folds of the drapery falling down from the hips. Similar statuettes, dating to the middle of the 5th century BC, are found all over the Peloponnese (Kalligas 19 n. 1).

61. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7567 (bought by the *Hetairia* in 1884). Statuette of a naked Aphrodite standing on a round base. H. 14.0 cm, H. of base 2.4 cm, Dm. of base 4.5 cm.
De Ridder 1894, 164 no 887. Kalligas 1980, 28, fig. 23.

This is a primitive, provincial imitation of the type of the

Venus Capitolina (De Ridder) or the Aphrodite Medici (Kalligas). Only the head, with its finely executed high wreath, recalls the quality of the prototype.

62. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7652.
Statuette of a bull. H. 4.8 cm, L. 8.8 cm.
De Ridder 1894, no 1011. Kalligas 1980, 20, fig. 7.

This is one of those primitive animal statuettes, which we encounter in every sanctuary; cf. *AO*, 202, Pl. XC, e.

Other materials

Marble

63. Phoiniki, 'From the temple site. Now in the courtyard of G. Mastromanolakos' house in the village.' (Hondius). Fragmentary circular base of bluish marble, with inscription, 'made by Kyranaios', perhaps belonging to a perirrhanterion. W. 30 cm, Dm. 30 cm.
J.J.E. Hondius, *BSA* 24 (1919-1921) 137 no 123. EAA IV (1961) 432 s.v. Kyranaios (L. Guerrini). Herfort-Koch 1986, 10. Floren 1987, 216 note 18. Cartledge 1979, 184. Jeffery-Johnston 1990, 194, 201 no 43, Pl. 37. Förtsch 2001, 50, 80. Gorrini 2002-2003, 172.

64. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (from the 1885 excavation). Two fragments of the rim of a huge marble basin (perirrhanterion) with dedicatory inscription, running from the right to the left.
Kalligas 1980, 18 with n. 2, fig. 2.

Lead

65. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 18644 (excavation 1885). Two fragments of lead figurines, one of a deer, legs missing (H. 3.9 cm, H. est. 4.5 cm, L. 3.5 cm. Brown patina) and one of a wheel or frame, half preserved (?; H. 3.0 cm, W. 6.0 cm. Brown patina). *Figs. 57a-b*. Not previously published. Mentioned by Kalligas 1980, 20 with n. 6.

Fig. 57a. Lead figurine of a dear. Cat. no 65. Photo author.
Fig. 57b. Lead figurine of a wheel. Cat. no 65. Photo author.

For the type of the deer cf. *AO* Pl. CXCIV, 1-5 and Boss 2000, 108-109. The 'wheel' may be part of a grid or 'grilles' (Wace in *AO* 264) as shown in *AO* Pl. CLXXXV, 14-19; CXCIV, 42-44 and Boss 2000, 128 ('gegitterte Anhänger').

Terracotta

66. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (from the 1885 excavation). Fragment of a huge disk-akroterion, comparable to the one from the Heraion in Olympia.
Kalligas 1980, 16-17.

For the akroterion from Olympia see A. Mallwitz, Ein Scheibenakroter aus Olympia, *AM* 83 (1968) 132-140. For the type see H. Lauter-Bufe, Entstehung und Entwicklung des kombinierten lakonischen Akroters, *AM* 89 (1974) 205-230, especially 212-221. M.Y. Goldberg, Archaic Greek Akroteria, *AJA* 86 (1982) 193-217, especially 202-203; on p. 215-217, 52 Laconian disc-akroteria are catalogued.

67. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum D 105. Antefix with incised decoration of a whirligig. H. 17.5 cm.
Antiken aus dem akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn, Bonn 1969, 42 no 44, fig. 25 ('Angeblich aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Hyperteleatas bei Epidauros Limera; in Athen erworben').

Because of its relative small size this plaque is probably an antefix (not an akroterion); cf. a similar plaque from Lousoi: W. Reichel/A. Wilhelm, Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lusoi, *ÖJh* 4 (1901) 61 fig. 128.

68. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 1148. Antefix decorated with a relief head of Artemis with a torch.
Kalligas 1980, 26, fig. 18.

Kalligas thinks this akroterion belongs to a small temple of the goddess within the precinct of Apollo. For Artemis-with-torches see Winter 1903, II, 166, no 4. Ch. Picard, *MonPiot* 40 (1944) 129. M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, Munich1955, 495. See also the next entry.

69. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (from the 1885 excavation). Plaque with relief of Artemis with a torch.
Kalligas 1980, 26, fig. 19.

According to Kalligas the plaque has a metal ring at the back, which would make it suitable for suspension on a tree (with references to tree-cult in Laconia in n. 3).

70. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 1150, 1151. Two statuettes of Nikai with lettering on their backs (1151: the name EVAMA).
Kalligas 1980, 29 with n. 1, fig. 25.

Kalligas supposes Evama to be the name of the man who made and sold the statuettes from a workshop in or near the sanctuary. He dates the statuettes to the Roman period. Cf. Winter 1903, II, 180, no 2.

71. Athens, National Archaeological Museum KAR 1149. Statuette of an old Silen sitting on a chair holding the horn of the goat Amaltheia in his hand.
Kalligas 1980, 29.

Kalligas compares it with Winter 1903, I, 216, no 4.

72. Amsterdam, Private collection (stray find). Fragment of a loom weight: pyramidal upper part with suspension hole. H. 4.5 cm, Dm. at fracture 3.5 cm.
Unpublished.

Pottery

73. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation). Fragment of a black-figured kantharos.
Stibbe, *LBP* 2, 33, 38, 128 no B6, Pl. 5, 2, fig. 38. Stibbe, *LV Supplement* 148, 149, 251 no 7 (Dioskuren-Maler).

74. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation). Fragment of one-handled black-glazed mug. H. 5.4 cm.
Stibbe, *LBP* 2, 46, 143 no E3, fig. 110.

75. Sparta, Museum store (from the 1968 excavation). Fragment of a black-glazed cup. H. 3.6 cm.
Stibbe, *LBP* 2, 68, 176 no E17, fig. 236.

76. Amsterdam, Private collection T 15 (stray find). Fragment of a black-glazed mortar. H. 4.2 cm.
Stibbe, *LBP* 2, 92, 221 no D8, fig. 365.

77. Amsterdam, Private collection (stray find). Fragment of the neck of a black-glazed table amphora, with a plastic fillet halfway down the neck. H. 7.0 cm, W. 7.5 cm, Th. 0.7. cm, Dm. pres. 17.0 cm. Glazed inside and out.
Unpublished.

For the type see Stibbe, *LBP* 3, figs. 141-145.

78. Athens, National Archaeological Museum (from the 1885 excavation). Three fragments of a black-figured Attic krater.
Kalligas 1980, 21, fig. 8.

79. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Three Megarian bowls.
Kalligas 1980, 27-28 with n. 1 (references), fig. 21.

Coins

80. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Bronze coin. Head of ROMA/ statue of Artemis, with inscription KOINON LAKEDAIMONION-KYPARISSIA.
Kalligas 1980, 26, fig. 17.

This coin seems to belong to a series which was issued between 35 and 31 BC. See Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 43-44 ('Gruppe XIX'), 156-158, Pl. 15, where, however, the head of Apollo takes the place of ROMA and Artemis has a different inscription.

CONCLUSIONS

This catalogue is much more elaborate than the one I offered on another occasion (Stibbe 2007b), when I discussed the bronze items of good quality from all the find places in Laconia, including Phoiniki. The general picture, however, remains the same, even though the quantitative contribution of Phoiniki has been extended considerably here (43 archaic items as against 18). This I owe mainly to the fact that in 2005 I obtained access to the finds from Phoiniki held in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens. So, after all, I can only repeat the conclusion I had already reached previously: that 'Phoiniki provides the most wide ranging assembly of bronzes of all the find places of Sparta and Laconia'.

When looking, not at the quantity, but at the quality, our conclusion must be that Phoiniki offers a most surprising number of first-rate bronze products. The presence of volute kraters of the Vix type in Laconia has been ascertained only recently by the identification of a silen and a menad from Sparta as decorations of the neck and the lid respectively of such a krater and of the hydria-bearer no 1 from Phoiniki, which may be a member of a series of similar figures standing on the lid of a krater (Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 313-314). Taken together the three statuettes constitute a welcome argument in favour of the supposition that the krater from Vix could also have been manufactured in Laconia.[54]

Hydriae and oinochoae are among the most successful shapes of the Laconian bronze industry.[55] At Phoiniki they are represented with at least two high quality examples, no 2 and nr 4 and a unique piece, no 6. The fragments of the tripod stands (nos 7 and 8) and of a handle, belonging to podanipteres, should be regarded as the first indications of the production in Laconia of these stands and basins popular elsewhere. So the Phoiniki contribution is again conspicuous in this respect. The same may be said about the bronze bowls, cauldrons and pails (nos 10-17), well-represented in other parts of Greece, but hitherto not yet or scarcely found in Laconia. Whereas the tripods of geometric type (no 18) are exceptional, the rod-tripod was successfully imitated in Laconia after Samian prototypes and exported to so far-away area's as the Balcans (Trebenishte) and southern Italy (Metapontum).[56] The traces of this production in Laconia are slight: some filling ornaments in the shape of animals (cows and a horse from Sparta and the Amyklaion)[57] and one bent stem with a flower bud from Phoiniki (no 19). The fragment of a swing handle (no 20), which possibly belongs to a situla,[58] is again the first indication of the presence of that shape in Laconia. Of the three fibulae from Phoiniki, nos 21-23, the first two are of exceptional quality, no 21 being unique for its chimaera, no 22 showing excellent workmanship, whereas the type of the lion recumbent on a garment-clasp is common in Laconia.[59]

Under the 'one-handled mug' heading we have two fragments, nos 24 and 25, of which no 24 is again a unique piece.

Among the archaic bronze naked male figurines there is only one, no 28, of excellent quality; it may represent Apollo Hyperteleatas himself. Exceptional pieces are found again among the 'Various objects', nos 32-38. I would like to stress here the importance of no 33 as a running gorgon in relief, which could have served as an investment of a cylindrical wooden box, and no 34 as the tiny fragment of an impressive plaque again representing a gorgon, but this time almost in life size, which is rather exceptional.

The bronzes of uncertain date include a stopper with a mouse (no 39), the hollow cast ear of an almost life-size statue of a Silen (no 40), two armour dedications (nos 41-42) which, as such, are remarkable in an Apollo sanctuary[60] and the handle of a sieve (no 43), for which we have no counterparts from Laconia. On the other hand it should be remembered that there are also bronze objects from elsewhere in Laconia, which are hitherto not represented among the finds from Phoiniki, such as plastic vases and lakainai.[61]

The bronzes and finds of other materials are only commented on at their entries, because they are not properly part of our subject. They can therefore be found in the Appendix.

LITERATURE CONCERNING THE SANCTUARY OF APOLLO HYPERTELEATAS AND THE FINDS MADE THERE, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Pausanias 3.22.10.

1884 K. Karapanos, O NAOS TOU APOLLONOS YPERTELEATAS, *EA* 1884, 198-214 (31 bronze wraths with inscriptions).

1885 Th. Sofoulis, *Praktika* 1885, 31-32 (Letter about his excavation at Phoiniki).

1885 D. Mylonas. TREIS EPIGRAFAI EK TES LAKONIKES, *BCH* 9, 241-248 (Three inscriptions on stone slabs found near Phoiniki).

1888 W. Fröhner, *Marbres et Bronzes Antiques, Collection H. Hoffmann*. Vente à l'Hotel Drouot, Paris, 28-29 Mai 1888, 156-160, Pl. XLI, nos 597-651 (catalogue of the wreaths with inscriptions bought by H. Hoffmann in 1884 from the owner of the plot).

1890 H.G. Lolling, EPIGRAFAI EK TOU YPERTELEATOU APOLLONOS, *EA* 1890, 64-67 (publishes four inscriptions on stone slabs, discovered by Th. Sofoulis).

1894 A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Bronzes de la Société Archeólogique d'Athènes*, Paris (publishes all the acquisitions made by the Hetairia; on p. 204 a summary).

1907-1908 A.J.B. Wace/F.W. Hasluck, Topography, South-Eastern Laconia, *BSA* 14, 165-166 (topography of the region and two inscriptions from Phoiniki on stone).

1913 G. Kolbe, Inscriptiones Laconiae Messeniae Arcadiae, *I.G*. V, 1, 187-194 nos 975-1106 (all inscriptions from Phoiniki known at that time are included).

1919 J.J.E. Hondius, Hyperteleatum, *BSA* 24, 137-139 (publishes an important inscription on stone found at Phoiniki, mentioning a man from Kyrene).

1961 H. Waterhouse/R. Hope Simpson, Prehistoric Laconia; Part II, *BSA* 56, 141 (mention road system near the Hyperteleatum).

1969 A. Delivorrias, Phoinikion, *ADelt* 24, 1969-II, 138-141 (short report on a stoa-like, large building, parts of the superstructure of a temple and small finds).

1980 P.G. Kalligas, TO IERO TOU APOLLONA YPERTELATA STIN LAKONIA, *Lakonikai Spoudai* 5, 10-30 (first comprehensive study of the sanctuary and the finds).

2. LACONIAN BRONZES FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

Introduction

Nobody would have expected, probably, the Athenian acropolis to be one of the major find places of archaic Laconian bronzes. As will be shown here for the first time, at least 16 bronzes of various kinds have been found - vessels, useful implements and statuettes, which may be considered the rather poor remnants of a much larger number of Laconian bronze votives, possibly bought by Athenians on their market place and dedicated to Athena Parthenos and perhaps to other gods too.[62] The phenomenon has been explained 'by the existence of an intensively used trade route from Laconia to the north along the east coast of the Greek mainland, passing Athens'.[63] But it still seems odd that the relationship between Sparta and Athens, which deteriorated into open war during the 5th century, would have been unclouded in the 6th century, as the finds of Laconian bronzes dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis would seem to indicate. In fact, their relations in the sixth century were not bad at all.[64] It was only at the end of that century, during the reign of the sons of Peisistratos and later, that a series of conflicts with the emerging political power of Athens, brought about a deterioration of that relationship.[65]

As a find place for Laconian bronzes, the Athenian Acropolis should not be compared with the pan-hellenic sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Delphi and Dodona, where many more archaic Laconian bronzes came to light,[66] but rather with similar communities, such as Corinth or Corfu (Kerkyra) or even Samos.[67] Only then the differences become clear. As for Sparta and Laconia itself, a kind of corpus of the archaic bronzes found there has been put together only recently,[68] but as the place or province of origin, this impressive harvest is of little use for comparison with Athens. The reader will find a closer analysis in the 'Conclusions' at the end of this chapter.

There has been a discussion among specialists about some bronzes catalogued here (nos 1 and

Figs. 58a-b. Fragment of the handle of a volute krater with rampant lion, front and back view. Cat. no 1. Photos author.

4) which are closely connected with finds from Italy, Switzerland and France (the hydriae from Treia and Grächwil and the krater from Vix), about whether these should be regarded as imports from Italy or as imports from Laconia. The whole issue of the origin of those hydriae and the krater from Vix is at stake.[69] Therefore it seemed to be important to show, that Laconian imports on the Acropolis of Athens are relatively common, whereas imports from Italy are absent, at least for the major part of the 6th century BC.[70]

CATALOGUE

Volute krater

1. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6649.
Fragment of a volute handle: rampant lion on console base. L. of console 11.0 cm, W. of console 1.2 cm, Th. of console 0.4 cm, L. of lion 7.0 cm, L. from fore- till hindlegs 8.5 cm. Brown patina. *Figs. 58a-b*.
De Ridder 1894, 171 no 474. Bieg 2002, 89 n. 438, fig. 89B. Rolley 2003, 84, 85, 101-102, no 13, 105, 107, figs. 32, 33. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 310, 315-316.

This important but long-overlooked fragment has recently entered scholarly discussion. As a parallel to the rampant lions on the volute handles of the krater from Vix, it plays a role in the arguments for or against a Greek mainland and Laconian (or Corinthian) origin of that krater. In the eyes of those who would place the production centre for the krater from Vix in southern Italy (Rolley), the fragment belongs to an imported volute krater; while for those who argue for a Laconian origin (Stibbe and others) the fragment proves at least a Greek mainland, if not the Laconian, origin for the krater. It is a parallel case to the fragment of a hydria, here no 3.

2. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6738.
Fragment of a running Gorgo. H. 12.4 cm.
De Ridder 1894 no 670. S. Karouzou, TECHNOURGOY KRATERON, Fragmente bronzener Volutenkratere, *AM* 94 (1979) 83, Pl. 18. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 201.

Karouzou has identified this fragment as part of a running gorgon belonging to the decoration of a volute krater: 'Dass die Figur auf dem Hals eines Volutenkraters befestigt war, wird durch die flächige Rückseite und den erhaltenen Nagel deutlich.' She also stresses that the dimensions of the fragment point to a rather huge krater ('einen Krater ziemlich grosser Dimension').

Hydria

3. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7140.
Fragment of a side handle decorated with the head of a duck.
De Ridder 1896, no 166, fig. 30. Herfort-Koch 1986, 14, 82 no KL 9 (bibl.). Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 93 n. 8 no 4, fig. 59. Stibbe 2004, 25-26, fig. 51, 34 no 47. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 238, 239 fig. 51, 247 no 47.

This fragment, for stylistic reasons, has been dated to the last quarter of the 7th century (Stibbe 2004, 26). It is, therefore, one of the oldest Laconian bronze dedications on the Acropolis of Athens.

4. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6781.
Fragment of a vertical handle with palmette and the hoofs of two horses. H. 6.5 cm, W. 12.0 cm, H. of palmette 4.5 cm, W. of palmette 8.2 cm. Black patina.
De Ridder 1896, 58 no 169. Jucker 1973, 55-56, Pl. 17, 7. Stibbe 1992, 26, 56 no G4 (bibl.). Stibbe 1995, 71-72, Pl. 17.3. Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 93, n. 8 no 3. Rolley 2003, 138. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 316.

There has been a long standing controversy about this fragment, because the scholars who would locate the production centre of the hydriae with show handles, to which this fragment belongs, in southern or central Italy (Jucker, Rolley), explain its presence on the Acropolis of Athens as an import; others, who locate that production centre in the Peloponnese (Shefton) or in Laconia (Stibbe), consider the find place as a proof for their assumption. Since no such early imports from Italy on the Acropolis are known (the fragment being dated in the first quarter of the 6th century BC) this particular piece anyway must be part of a hydria produced in Greece.

5. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6588, 6650.
Fragmentary vertical handle in the shape of a kouros. Herfort-Koch 1986, 109 no K 99, Pl. 14.2. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 46 no 16 (bibl.). Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 289, 297 no G 12.

The most recent and most complete discussion of Laconian handle-kouroi is found in Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 275, 295 (no A7), 275-277, 295 (nos B1-B7), 286-288, 296-297 (nos G1-G13), that is a total of 21 pieces, which can be clearly distinguished from a Corinthian series of 9 pieces (for which see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 47-56). Our kouros can be dated ca 530 BC.

Narrow-mouthed hydria

6. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7158.
Handle with attachment shaped as outstretched hands. L. 29.5 cm, L. of hands 6.0 cm, W. 3.5 cm. *Fig. 59*.
De Ridder 1896, 52 no 154 fig. 24. I. Vokotopoulou, *Chalkai Korinthiourgeis Prochoi* (1975) 132 n. 5.

Isolated handles of this kind and with similar measurements have also come to light in Delphi (Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 165 nos 5 and 6, with references). They belong to narrow-mouthed hydriae of a kind which is mainly found in the Balkans (the Republic of Macedonia). An almost complete example, still unpublished, came recently to light in a cist grave near Thermi (SE of Thessaloniki) with a context of Corinthian and Attic pottery,

Fig. 59. Handle with outstretched hands of a narrow necked hydria. Cat. no 6. Photo author.

Fig. 60. Fragmentary handle of oinochoe with lion protome between recumbent lions. Cat. no 7. Photo author.

suggesting a dating around 560 BC (on display in the National Archaeological Museum at Thessaloniki). The origin of these hydriae has been disputed. The idea of transforming the attachments of the handle of a bronze vase into outstretched hands seems to have originated in Laconia. It is found with smaller vases from there and on Laconian volute kraters.[71] The handle from the Acropolis of Athens, which has been overlooked up to now, together with the two examples from Delphi, makes a Laconian origin of the whole group all the more plausible. For a discussion and catalogue see Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 160-161, 163-165 nos 1-7.

Oinochoe

7. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16720.
Fragmentary handle with lion protome between recumbent lions. W. 9.0 cm, W. of lion-protome 2.0 cm. *Fig. 60*.
G. Kalligas, *AAA* 13 (1980) 241 n. 9, fig. 9.

This fragment has been overlooked for a long time (not included in Weber 1983, nor in Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999). Because of its stylistic features it most probably belongs to Group 4, Sub Group 4c, dated around 550 BC (Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, 43-44).

Rod tripod

8. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6589, 6622, 6624. Fragments of three running Amazons. H. of all heads 2.0 cm.
De Ridder 1896, 328-329, nos 815 fig. 321, 816, 817. Herfort-Koch 1986, 94 no K 51 (bibl.). Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 87 no 1 (bibl.). Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 93 n. 8 no 2.

These Amazons, being filling ornaments for the three arches of the legs of one and the same rod-tripod, should

Fig. 61a. Recumbant lion. Cat. no 9. Photo author.

Fig. 61b. The same, photo author.

for stylistic reasons be dated to the years around 580 BC. Together with the volute krater here no 1, they represent one of the major dedications of Laconian bronze work on the Acropolis. An isolated amazon of exactly the same type has turned up on the American art market and is now in a New York private collection (see Stibbe 2007a). So there seems to have been a kind of serial production of tripods in Laconia at this time.

9. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6665.
Recumbent lion. L. 5.0 cm, H. 3.0 cm. *Figs. 61a-b.*
De Ridder 1896, 168 no 467, fig. 129. Gabelmann 1965, 118 no 85. Bieg 2002, 89, fig. 88b, 157 no L 14 (bibl.).

Since the body of this lion is curved to the back, it could belong to the decoration of a rod tripod, as seen e.g. on the tripod from Metapontum in Berlin (Stibbe 1992, 50-51, figs. 68, 70). The type is contemporary with the lions from the rod-tripod from Trebenishte, that is ca 570 B.C. (Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 78-83, fig. 54. Bieg 2002, 88 fig. 87).

Aryballos

10. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6632.
Aryballos shaped as the head of a warrior, decorated with two lion protomes. *Fig. 62*.
De Ridder 1896, 8 no 250. Vokotopoulou 1997, 129 no 120 (ill. in colours). Stibbe, *LBP* 3, 51. Bieg 2002, 81 with n. 393 (bibl.). Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 91 n. 8 no 1 (bibl.), figs. 57-58.

Fig. 62. Aryballos shaped as the head of a warrior with helmet and lion protomes. Cat. no 10. Photo author.

Fig. 63. Statuette of a centaur. Cat. no 11. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom.

Fig. 64. Statuette of a centaur. Cat. no 12. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom.

Fig. 65a. Recumbant lion, side view. Cat. no 13. Photo author.

Fig. 65b. The same, front view. Photo author.

This unique piece has two recumbent lions of Laconian stock on the helmet. The type of the eyes of the warrior with hatched and plastically emphasized eyebrows, is also Laconian. This is one of the earliest Laconian dedications on the Acropolis (dating to the years around 600 BC).

Miscellaneous statuettes

11. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6680.
Statuette of a centaur. *Fig. 63*.
De Ridder 1896, no 480. Herfort-Koch 1986,12 no K 155 (bibl.). Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte* 93 n. 8 no 6. J.M. Padgett (ed.), *The Centaur's Smile. The Human Animal in Early Greek Art*, Princeton 2003, 11 fig. 6. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 298.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 514. Centaur. *Fig. 64*.
Herfort-Koch 1986, 121 no K 154 (bibl.). Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, 93 n. 8 no 7. C.M. Stibbe, in J.M. Padgett (ed.), *The Centaur's Smile. The Human Animal in Early Greek Art*, Princeton 2003, 155-158, No 23, with figs.

13. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6657.
Recumbant lion. L. 9.5 cm, H. 4.8 cm, *Figs. 65a-b*.
De Ridder 1896, 167 no 464, fig. 126. Gabelmann 1965, 71. Bieg 2002, 80 fig. 70, 157 no L 9 (bibl).

14. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6658.
Crouching lion. L. 5.2 cm, H. 5.0 cm.
De Ridder 1896, 169 no 470, fig. 131. Gabelmann 1965, 117 no 68f., Pl. 13.3. Bieg 2002, 106, fig. 124, 157 no L 10 (bibl.).

15. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6664.
Crouching lion. L. 6.5 cm, H. 7.2 cm.
De Ridder 1896, 171 no 473, fig. 134-135. Gabelmann 1965, 72 no 68d, Pl. 13.2. Gauer 1991, 141 n. 440. Stibbe 1992, 21 n. 92. Stibbe 1994, 112 n. 27. Bieg 2002, 107, 108 fig. 127, 157 no L 14 (bibl.).

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that the remains of two volute kraters, of which no 1 closely resembles the ornamentation of the krater from Vix, came to light in Athens, may be described at least as surprising - such fragments are rather exceptional in Greece, with most bronze volute kraters found in distant export areas.[72] The same can be said about the fragments nos 3 and 4 of two hydriae. No 4 offers an important indication, in the case of the group of hydriae with show-handles,[73] for their having a Greek mainland and Laconian origin. The hydria-handle in the shape of a kouros, no 5, is less exceptional, but is still a welcome addition to our knowledge of this group of handles. There is yet another handle of a bronze hydria, allegedly from the Acropolis of Athens, which is not included in our catalogue, because its Laconian origin is far from sure. This interesting piece is kept in Mariemont.[74] It has the typical Attic scene of two lions

devouring a bull at its upper attachment and a conventional palmette between crouching rams below. So it may be an Attic variant piece of a Laconian prototype.

The rather exceptional shape of a narrow-mouthed hydria is here represented by just one side-handle: characteristic are the outstretched hands with the appropriate measurements of a type, which, as far as we know today, is found only with this shape. This, together with two examples from Delphi,[75] is the third to show that the shape originates from the Greek mainland and most probably from Laconia (not from Magna Grecia, as has been suggested in the past).[76]

After an oinochoe-handle of a wide-spread type (no 7), we arrive at the fragments of a rod-tripod. This is important for showing, once more, that this kind of useful implements was also produced in Laconia and widely exported, with the subject of running Amazons as filling ornaments remaining exceptional (a second example turned up only recently). The recumbent lion no 9 could also belong to the decoration of a rod tripod.

The aryballos no 10 is unique but several examples of Laconian clay aryballoi shaped as warrior heads are preserved, which shows that this particular idea was well known at Sparta, as we should expect to be the case anyway.[77]

It is difficult to decide whether the miscellaneous statuettes nos 11-15 are independent statuettes, parts of the decorative system of vessels, or useful implements. The two centaurs nos 11 and 12 show the high level of craftsmanship reached in Laconian workshops in the second quarter of the 6th century and around 550 BC. The lion no 13 has a design of the neck manes which recalls those of several lions belonging to bronze vessels, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century; it also reappears on the beard and the pubic hair of the Zeus from Ugento.[78]

As for the relationship between the Acropolis of Athens and the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, the fact should be emphasised that it is limited: both yielded a surprising number of Laconian bronzes, the surprise in both cases being also the high quality and unique character of some of those bronze products.[79] Since this article focuses on a presentation of the material, the historical and other implications have only been considered in passing.

NOTES

* I would like to thank the following persons and institutions for their kind help during the preparation of this article: Nikolaos Kaltsas (Athens) for the permission to study the bronze objects from Phoiniki in the National Archaeological Museum, Angelos Delivorrias (Athens) for allowing me to publish the bronzes kept in the Sparta Museum which came to light during his 1968 campaign at Phoiniki, Alan Johnston (London) for the permission to include his comments on the inscriptions of cat. nos 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 25, Maria Pipili (Athens) for bibliographical information, Jeltsje Stobbe (Amsterdam) for preparing my drawings of the inscriptions and vessels for publication and Martin Rush (Oxford) for improving my English.

1 See my preliminary survey in Stibbe 2007b. For the inscriptions see the list of publications below.

2 J.G. Frazer, in his *Pausanias' Description of Greece* III, London 1898, 383 gives the following description of the plain: 'From the head of the bay of *Xyli* a plain called Leuke in Antiquity (Strabo VIII. P. 363) stretches inland and northward. It is about five miles wide and is surrounded by hills. Fields of corn and maize now cover its whole extent, but modern villages are built on the surrounding heights, or at the foot of the hills. On the south-east side of the plain, at the foot of the hills, is the village of *Phiniki*. In a field near this village a number of inscriptions have been found which show that a temple of Hyperteleatian Apollo of some importance must have existed somewhere hereabout.' I had myself the privilege of visiting the site near Phoiniki, in the company of friends, two times (once on August 20, 1977 and again on March 20, 2005) and to take the photographs published here.

3 For Melana and Tyros see Phaklaris 1990, 178-183 and 173-178.

4 Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 22-23, translation by M.L. West, *Loeb Classical Library*, Cambridge Mass. 2003, 73.

5 The district may be understood as comprising the 'places inland from Acriae' (Pausanias 3.22.9).

6 Translation by W.H.S Jones and H.A. Ormerod, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, *Loeb Classical Library* II, Cambridge Mass. 1966, 143.

7 A similar process has been observed at the sanctuary of Apollo Korithos in Messenia: see Luraghi 2002, 52 with note 31. On the 'colonizzazione epidauria' in the Peloponnese from the fifth cent. onwards, see Gorrini 2002-2003, 177-178, 185-186. Not one of the many inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas has the name of Asclepios. So one of the informants of Pausanias who himself did not visit the place, may have made an error, but, if so, it was a significant one. Cf. Kalligas 1980, 12, 31. More in general: G.D. Hart, *Asclepius, the God of Medicine*, London 1988, 21. On Asclepios in Laconia A. Hupfloher, *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta*, Berlin 2000, 81-82.

8 See G. Shipley, 'The other Lakedaimonians': the dependent perioikic poleis of Laconia and Messenia, in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (*Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 4), Copenhagen 1997, 92-98.

9 R. Parker, Spartan Religion, in A. Powell (ed.), *Classical Sparta*, London 1989, 145.

10 As Kalligas 1980, 12-13, points out, the surnames of gods are often derived from the environment in which their sanctuaries are founded. Karapanos 1884, 202

would think of 'hupertelloo' = 'rise over or above', said from the sunrise; so this would be an 'Apollo of the dawn'. But this seems to be less probable, because of the location, which opens to the west.

[11] Kalligas 1980, 28 n. 3 refers to a certain Jo. P. Lamprou, who sold on June 20, 1884, an object to the *Hetairia*. This may be the name of the obscure owner of the plot.

[12] The results were made known in a short letter to the Society by Th. Sophoulis in *Praktika* 1885, 31-33.

[13] Delivorrias 1969, 139. Cf. Kalligas 1980, 12.

[14] Delivorrias 1969, 139; Kalligas 1980, 17.

[15] N. Papadakis, *ADelt* 5 (1919) Parartima, 25-33. P. Pantos, *ADelt* 43 (1988) - B1, 224; *ADelt* 44 (1989) - B1, 166; *ADelt* 45 (1990) - B1, 174.

[16] During my studies of the bronzes in the National Archaeological Museum in March 2006 I did not have free access to the boxes with the finds from Phoiniki. Only those for which I could produce an inventory number (taken from Kalligas 1980) were made available to me, in a separate room of the museum. So I suspect, that quite a few other finds, with and without inventory numbers, still lie unpublished in the storerooms of that museum, because even some pieces with inventory numbers did not turn up and because of some indications made by Kalligas 1980 himself. Kalligas' publication has been most helpful, but he has published only a part of the finds he mentions and he also made some mistakes in identifying the shapes to which some fragments belong.

[17] The repeated assurances by Kalligas 1980, that new excavations at the site would be of primary importance, do not seem to have produced any response from the responsible authorities.

[18] Rolley 2003, 191-121.

[19] Stibbe 2007a (forthcoming).

[20] Herfort-Koch 1986, no K 48, Pl. 6,2; Stibbe 2007a, no 2. and Herfort-Koch 1986, no K 109; Stibbe 2007a, no 3.

[21] On Rolley's list (Rolley 2003, 122) there are the following statuettes from outside Laconia, which have been identified as Laconian: an Artemis from Thesprotia (Herfort-Koch no K 47, Pl.6,1); a running komast from Corfou (Herfort-Koch no K 108, Pl. 15, 1); a running girl from Dodona (Herfort-Koch no K 49, Pl. 6,5) and a running girl from Prizren (Herfort-Koch no K 50, Pl. 6,6). See also the statuettes with a preserved base listed by Rolley, ibidem, as candidates for kraterlid decorations (including several Laconian items from outside Laconia).

[22] See Beazley 1944, 7; Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 314.

[23] Stibbe, *Agalmata* 262-283, no E6, Fig. 27.

[24] See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 27-45, nos 1-13. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 275-277, 295 nos B1-B7 and 286-289, 296-297 nos G1-G13.

[25] See e.g. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* 1 with n. 2.

[26] Similar shaped rims are known from 'geschlossene Kessel' (Gauer nos Le 7, Le 8, Fig. 5; but for these the Dm. of our fragment is too small).

[27] Such as the Laconian examples in Stibbe, *LBP* 3, figs. 132, 139.

[28] Such as the Laconian examples in Stibbe, *LBP* 2, figs. 62-77.

[29] Cf. Stibbe 2000a, the oinochoae no 3 and 4, Pls. 3, 2 and 3, 4. See also no 24 with n. 38.

[30] *AO* 201, Pl. LXXXVIII, f may be a lion-foot of such a low tripod stand.

[31] Cf. C. Tarditi, *Vasi di bronzo in area Apula*, Lecce 1996, 126-137.

[32] See Gauer 1991, 20-25. Comparable with our example are especially his type A4, nos Le 15, Le 16, figs. 2 and 7; type A7, nos Le 24-Le 26, fig. 8.

[33] See Stibbe 1997b, 114-115, no 96.

[34] *AO* 95, fig. 65d.

[35] Bieg 2002, 78-80, fig. 68.

[36] Cf. Stibbe 2004a, 12 and id, *Agalmata*, in the general index, sub voce 'Experiment' etc.

[37] Cf. Stibbe, *LBP* 2, figs. 18, 79, 80, 87, 89, 90, 93, 94, 132, 134, 136.

[38] Cf. Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999, figs. 9, 13, 18, 21, 22, 23, 29, 36, 38, 39.

[39] See ibid. figs. 9, 13, and 21 by contrast to the later examples with longer muzzles: figs. 18, 22, 23, 29.

[40] Stibbe, *LBP* 2, 40-43 (Cylindrical mugs), 43-47 (One-handled mugs), 47-49 (Two-handled mugs), figs. 53-125.

[41] See e.g. the kneeling gorgons on the stand of the volute krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade. Stibbe/Vasić, *Trebenishte*, cover and p. 71, figs. 48-49.

[42] The hydria from Treia, Stibbe 2004a, 21 figs. 42-43, 33 no 32a.

[43] See Vokotopoulou 1997, figs. 66 (Herakles), 74 (Zeus).

[44] I. Kilian, Weihungen an Eileithyia und Artemis Orthia, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 220, Pl. VI, 1. The total amount of this kind of pins from AO would be ca 1400 pieces (ibid. p. 219)!

[45] See *BSA* 15 (1908-1909) 144, Pl. IX, 21, 22 (Menelaion) and *AM* 52 (1927) 36, Beilage VIII, 6 (Amyklaion). Bonias 1998, 213 no 553, Pl. 64.

[46] For the dating in general see P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their connections with Europe and Asia*, Oxford 1956, 30-33.

[47] Waldstein 1905, 215-225, Pls. LXXX-LXXXIII. For other findplaces see Kilian (note 44) 219.

[48] De Ridder 1894, 53 no 211. AD 1891, 99.

[49] K. Kourouniotis, *Praktika* 1902, 72-75.

[50] See E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, Mainz 1964, 39-43. For the parallel-kalpis from Rhodos in Richmond, see ibid. 154, 222 no B 204 with Pl. 22, 23.

[51] Cf. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 291 no H3, fig. 50.

[52] Herfort-Koch 1986, 44 n. 139 (bibl.). Dörig 1987, 10, 15, 22 no 10, Pl. 42, 44, 46a. Stibbe, *Agalmata* 291, 297 no H4, fig. 51.

[53] Stibbe, *Agalmata* 291-292, 297 nos H6-H8 with further references.

[54] This has been maintained by a majority of scholars; but without the argument of a local production in Laconia as presented here. Cf. Stibbe, *Agalmata*, 317.

[55] See Stibbe 2004a (for the hydriae) and Pelagatti/Stibbe 1999 (for the oiochoae).

[56] See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 78-88 and 127-142.

[57] See Stibbe 2007b, nos 36-38.

[58] It could belong also to an amphora; see e.g. the one from Gela in Syracuse, Museo Regionale 21195, Rolley 1982, figs. 121-123; Stibbe 1992, 52, 61 no Nn5; and the one from Apollonia, Museum AM 865; see A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Albanien, Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren*, Mainz 1988, 358 no 261 with fig. in colours.

[59] In Stibbe 2007b, six examples from Laconia (nos 43-51) are cited. Many more were exported.

[60] See Gorrini 2002-2003, 173.

[61] See Stibbe 2007b, nos 24 and 25; ibid. nos 26-32.

[62] For the percentages of actually recovered bronzes and the real amount of dedications in a sanctuary in general, see Hodkinson 1995, 56.

[63] Stibbe, *Agalmata* 238 with references.

[64] See e.g. H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz 1989, 154, who refers to Herodotus 5.63.
[65] Herodotus 5. 91.1 and C. Schubert, *Athen und Sparta in klassischer Zeit*, Stuttgart-Weimar 2003, 3-4.
[66] They have never been assembled in corpora, but a look at the Indices in Herfort-Koch 1986 and Stibbe, *Agalmata* may suffice to give an idea about the quantities (where Delphi, by the way, holds a rather modest place).
[67] Most amazing is the situation at Corinth, where not a single Laconian bronze product has been found or published up to now. However, even archaic Corinthian bronzes are the exception there; for them we have to look at the nearby sanctuaries at Perachora and Isthmia. From Kerkyra we have at least two Laconian bronzes (Herfort-Koch 1986, nos K 108 and K 163c). For Samos: see Stibbe 1997, 32-33.
[68] Stibbe 2007b.
[69] See Rolley 2003, 129-143; Stibbe 2000b, passim.
[70] For the dating of imports from Italy (Etruria) on the Acropolis see Gauer 1991, 102, n. 274.
[71] For Laconian vases with outstretched hands see *BSA* 15 (1908-1909) 149, fig. 14, 1 (handle of a cup?). Herfort-Koch 1986, 126 no K 180. Stibbe 2007b, no 27 (handle probably of a lakaina with a monkey sitting on the grip).
[72] Similar fragments were found in Sparta (Stibbe 2007a), in Olympia (Stibbe 2000b, 76 with fig. 9) and in Dodona (Rolley 2003, 122). For the exported bronze volute-kraters see Stibbe 2007a.
[73] For this group see Stibbe 2004a, 19-23, 33-34, nos 30-40.
[74] Mariemont, Musée B 201, ex Warroqué. Stibbe 2004a, 34 no 56.
[75] See the catalogue in Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 163-165, nos 1-7.
[76] Rolley 1982, 21 no 7, 83-86.
[77] See Stibbe, *LBP* 3, 50-51, 136, no's R4-R6.
[78] See Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos*, 176, figs. 116-117.
[79] In both cases the exact find-circumstances are largely unknown.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 47-60. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033097.

A Fake or not a Fake . . .
An Ancient Practical Joke?

J.M. Hemelrijk

Abstract[1]

The alabastron New York 1981.11.7, here discussed, was first published by Dietrich von Bothmer and shortly afterwards by myself.[2] *These publications are not easily accessible and both are somewhat sketchy and concise. The alabastron forms an extremely puzzling case: there are manifest indications that it should be declared a fake, yet other aspects forbid such a condemnation. I do not know of any other, equally contradictory, vase.*
After a short introduction dealing with other alabastra that are related in fabric to the Caeretan hydriae, I discuss the most glaring absurdities in the painting of the bottle and then quote Bothmer's arguments in defence of its genuineness. Finally I give a more detailed description of its paintings in relation to the figure scenes of the Caeretan hydriae.

INTRODUCTION

It has always been a mystery why the painters of the Caeretan hydriae (the Eagle and the Busiris Painter) never produced figure scenes on other vases than hydriae. It is well known that the workshop turned out Nikosthenic amphorae (without figures, see *CH* 59, pl. 20) and I have suggested that certain alabastra were also among the products of the atelier (see *CH* 152 with note 408). Their (tentative) attribution was based on clay and texture, which are very like those of the hydriae; I gave two examples in *CH* (pl. 148d - here *fig. 1a* - and pl.149a); these are very tall, slender ones (resp. 26.8 and 31.7 cm) without lugs. Their lips are thin, their decoration is colourful and they are painted with three solid broad bands decorated with white and red stripes. Their clay has a warm colour; their shape and appearance is very different from the one we are to discuss (*figs. 2-3*). They are found in Etruria.

An alabastron in the Bryn Mawr collection (*fig. 1b*)[3] is closer, but its lip is thin and painted black inside and out (except for its edge); its neck is longer and also painted solid, its shoulder is slender and its body is less swelling than that of our alabastron. It is provided with the usual lugs, and decorated with three sets of a narrow band between two lines. All this is neat and precise; the vase is far more refined than the bottle under investigation (*figs. 2-3*).

Since the first discovery of a Caeretan hydria in 1838 (*CH* 195) no other shape painted with ornaments and figures was known in this fabric until, after almost 150 years, this alabastron surfaced. This very long lapse of time is in itself a reason for suspicion; besides, the possible faker might have known that such alabastra were good candidates for the production of a 'Caeretan' fake.

Further, my suspicion was raised because the scholar who discovered, published and for some time owned the alabastron was Bothmer himself. I had heard that some art dealer was engaged in a sort of rivalry with him to produce a forgery that would deceive Bothmer.[4] I regard him as one of the very best experts in the field and am inclined always to believe him in matters of this kind. But I also believed that, in this particular field (the Caeretan hydriae), I might possibly be a better judge.

We shall now turn to our alabastron.

New York 1981.11.7.
Condition and description (figs. 2-3)
Height 17.7 cm; maximum diameter 6 cm; upper frieze (without border lines) 5.1 cm, lower frieze 5 cm. Unbroken. Colour of clay similar to that of the Caeretan hydriae but the paint is less black, a little browner.
Mouth flat, small opening (*fig. 2e*), thick lip, short neck; sloping shoulder, body expanding downwards with a soft curve (somewhat like a narrow bag filled with water). Round lugs (painted, outer edges reserved).
Surface not well-preserved, in many places worn, also the black paint of the figures and the ornaments. Repainted and many incisions redrawn.[5] Hardly any paint preserved on mouth and lip, but neck black with a reserved collar (*figs. 2a-e*). Shoulder: pendant rays (as on the Nikosthenic

Fig. 1a. Alabastron, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no 338. Museum photo, length 26.8 cm.

Fig. 1b. Alabastron, Ella Riegel Memorial Museum, Bryn Mawr, inv. no P. 84. Museum photo, length 18.4 cm.

amphorae, *CH* pl. 20, but less accurate). The bottom is decorated with a rosette that has a solid black heart drawn with compasses, and the leaves were painted with the help of templates or rulers (*fig. 2f*). Originally the leaves were alternately red, white and black on thinned black, but the colours are lost (two black leaves border on each other).[6] The bands around the body (all black) are reminiscent of those around the Nikosthenic amphorae of *CH* pl. 20, but they are untidy (*figs. 2a-d*).

Compared to the figures on the hydriae, the figures in the friezes A (above) and B (below) are in a miniature style (5 cm, while the figure friezes of the hydriae usually are between 11.5 and 13 cm high; see *CH* 5, table B). This smallness is unexpected and even surprising in a product of a workshop that is known for its ample shapes and grand paintings (usually they are about 42 cm high; the hydria no 19, 'Amsterdam Horse-tamer' holds 11-12 litres, when filled to the top of the shoulder).

Fig. 1c. Caeretan hydria, CH *no 25, 'Pholos', Market Switzerland? Photo Archäologisches Institut, Zurich.*

Fig. 1d. Same hydria, photo author.

The painter of our bottle was well-acquainted with the style of both painters, but he was not consistent in keeping them apart: the figures in frieze A imitate the style of the Busiris Painter, those in frieze B follow that of the Eagle Painter. In the upper frieze he copied, rather faithfully, the hydria no 25 'Market, Pholos' (*figs. 1c-d*).[7] This seemed suspect to me: no 25 had come to light only shortly before (some time in the late sixties or seventies of the last century) but was still generally unknown; it remained unpublished until 1982 (in 1983 Bothmer published the alabastron).[8] In other words, I believed that the (supposedly modern) painter had seen the hydria around 1970 (before it was generally known) and that, therefore, he could use it as a model: for the time being, his picture would seem wholly original, just as the second frieze, the one with the chorus of girls, for which there is no parallel on the hydriae.

The figure scenes A and B contain shocking mistakes and surprising absurdities, so much so that, at first sight, one feels forced to condemn the piece as a forgery. The most striking abnormalities are the following.

Scene A (figs. 2a-j)

This imitates the scene on no 25 (*figs. 1c-d*; *CH* pl. 92-93). Here the figures are a bit crammed; the frieze was too low for the ambitious plan of the painter:[9] all figures bend their knees and Heracles seems almost in *Knielauf*. The movements are much more violent than on our alabastron, where all figures are upright. In most other respects, however, the two scenes are very similar.

Fig. 1e.
Detail of 'Pontic' amphora, Munich 838; after L. Hannestad, The Followers of the Paris Painter, *1976, pl. 3.*

Figs. 2-3. Alabastron Metropolitan Museum New York, inv. no 1981.11.7, length 18.1 cm. Figs. a-d: after Hemelrijk, Alabastron figs. 1-4. Figs. 2e-3i: photos author.

2a. Obverse.

2b. View from right.

2c. Reverse.

2d. View from left.

2e. Mouth and shoulder.

2f. Rosette on bottom.

2g. Frieze A. Heracles (enlarged).

2h. Frieze A. Centaur I (enlarged).

2i. Frieze A. Centaur 2 (enlarged).

2j. Frieze A. Centaur 3 (enlarged).

Fig. 3a. Frieze B. Girl B1 (enlarged ca 9:5).

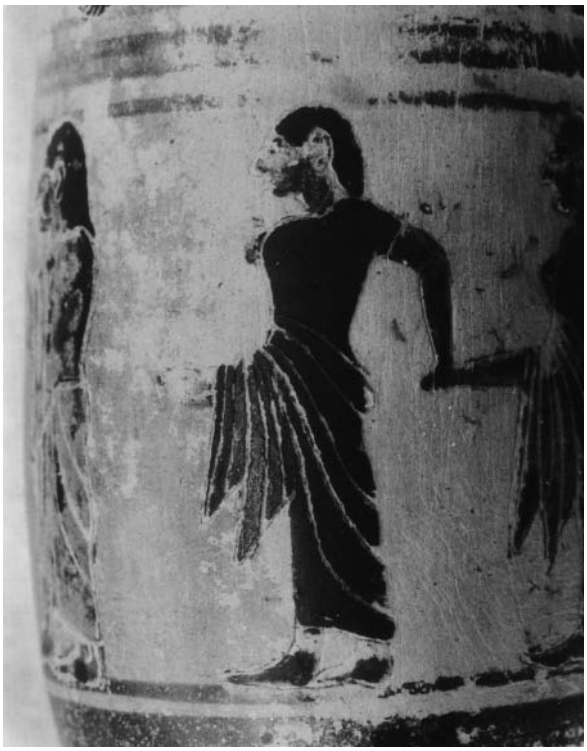

Fig. 3b. Frieze B. Girl B2 (enlarged ca 7:5).

Fig. 3c. Frieze B. Girl B3 (enlarged ca 7.5:5).

Fig. 3d. Frieze B. Girl B4 (enlarged ca 4:1).

Fig. 3e. Frieze B (enlarged ca 2:1).

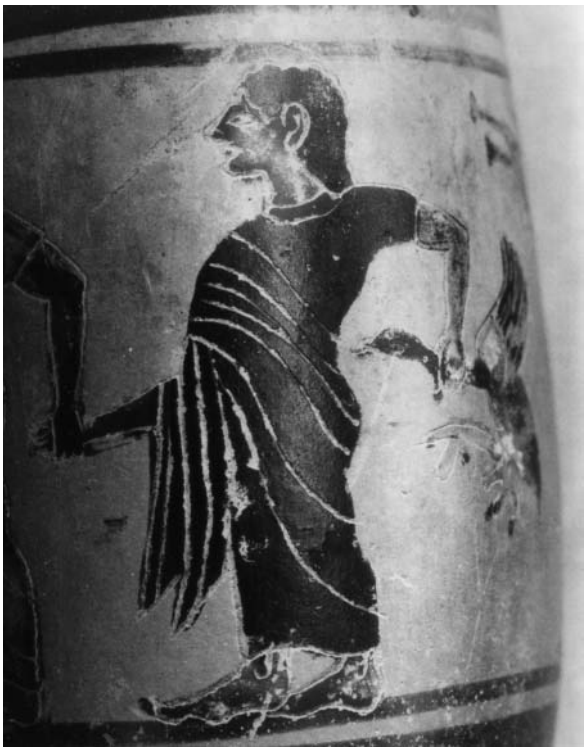

Fig. 3f. B6 (enlarged ca 9:5).

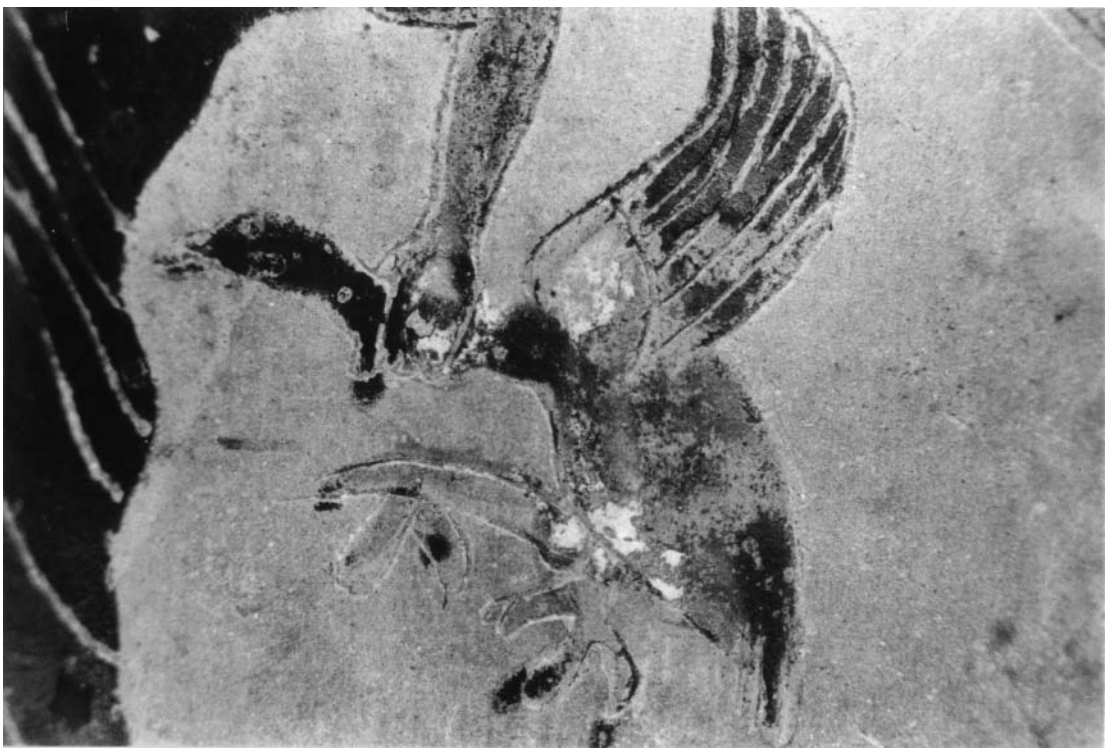

Fig. 3g. Goose of B6 (enlarged ca 4.3:1).

Fig. 3h. Detail of B4 (enlarged).

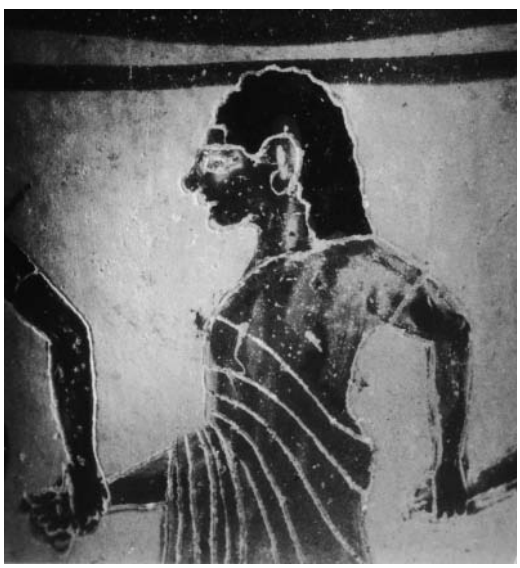

Fig. 3i. Detail of B5 (ca 2:1).

The first shocking mistake[10] (or is it a wilful joke?) is that Heracles is not shooting an arrow with his bow (as in *figs. 1c-d*) but is holding a small tree upside down in his left hand, while his right hand is empty. The tree was badly repainted (*fig. 2a*), but even after Bothmer cleaned that part of the bottle (see note 5) it remained visible; it seemed as if its paint had protected the surface from being worn like the rest of the surface (*fig. 2g*); this seems to show that it cannot have been entirely modern. At any rate, the painter, modern or ancient, destroyed the meaning of the scene: a fierce fight with the centaurs.[11] Note that, just as his counterpart on no 25, the centaur opposite Heracles attacks with a tree; this tree was also repainted (*fig. 2a*) and cleaned by Bothmer: fig. 2h.

In short, it seemed to me that the mistake of the funny Christmas tree in Heracles' hands proved that the painter was a modern *ignoramus*. However, it now seems possible to me, that this painter was misled by another well-known picture of the Pholoe centaurs, a purely Etruscan product: on an amphora by the 'Pontic' Amphiaraos Painter (*fig. 1e*).[12] Here we see a similar tree between the two great opponents, though it is in a natural position, standing upright.

Scene B (figs. 3a-i)

There is no scene on the hydriae that can have served as a model for the chorus of girls in the lower frieze B,[13] but in East Greek vase painting there are plenty of rows of dancing (or rather, slowly moving) girls holding hands, headed by a flautist.[14] Therefore, it is a safe subject for a forgery: its model was, no doubt, a scene similar to the one on a neck of a Chiot krater in London (Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI.1, no 700 pl. 100). However, the first and the last girl of the row ought to carry a wreath, but our girl no 2 is empty-handed (*figs. 2b, 3b*), while at the end of the row, the painter made another astonishing mistake - or rather: ís it a mistake? Is it not rather a wilful introduction of a funny oddity? The last girl in the row (girl no 6, *figs. 3a, f-g*) holds a struggling goose by the neck in her left hand;[15] the poor beast is nearly choking and wildly flapping its powerful wings. It is well-drawn (though the wing feathers are very badly incised; they were probably retraced, though they look wholly modern),[16] but its feet should have been webbed and ought not to look like oversized, blobby talons (*figs. 3a, g*). It need not be said that the bird is wholly out of place here, at the end of a row of dancing girls.

I found that there were more such suspect details; therefore, before I had had the opportunity to inspect the bottle my self (in the spring of 1985), I made my doubts clear to Bothmer in a letter of Nov. 11, 1981. Bothmer replied, Nov. 17, 1981 (I italicize what seems decisive to me):

> 'I fully understand your temptation to condemn the vase, but it is not quite so easy to dismiss it. For one thing, I do not know any *forgery*

that uses modern glaze and modern paint side by side... it is either one or the other.[17] *The worn glaze (that had been restored) is consistent with the worn surface of the vase itself.* There are *preliminary sketch lines that I have never seen in a fake*, and there is a glaze smear (back of leg of third girl [my no 4, here *figs. 2c, 3d*, but there are more such smears, see below] that is not known from modern work [this I doubt]. *Lastly the great variation in the glaze itself, from dilute to heavy black, and the scumbled underglaze in those areas that were covered with opaque added colours.*
Now for details.... The beard of Herakles is really quite short.....There is, or was, much added color [and then he sums up the scumbled underglaze on the rosette under the base, *fig. 2f*]. There is also some actual red preserved in the hair and beard of Herakles and the centaur facing him [*figs. 2g-h*]. The hair of the third centaur [*fig. 2j*] may have been white (incised lines) [this should be red]. The equine hooves of the second Centaur also had color (white?) [*fig. 2i*]....
The flesh of the dancing girls [frieze B, *fig. 3*] was white. The glaze on the garments of the second and fourth [my B3 and B5] is scumbled and must have been underglaze for red [*figs. 3c, e*]. There is still some white on the bird [*fig. 3g*]. The top layer of clay on top of the mouth is restored (*fig. 2e*).
I asked the vendor who has had the alabastron for close to twenty years [!!!!][18] whether it had been found with the Hirschmann hydriai [*CH* nos 25, 29] and he said that it came from another source and may have come from Vulci [this seems very doubtful to me].'

I do agree with the observation that it seems excluded that a modern potter would use both the ancient technique of black 'clay-paint' and modern black; also that he would paint thinned, streaky underpaint for his red and white as the ancients did (*figs. 3 a, g, i*) and then painted only slight traces of these colours over it. Besides, there is the fact of the preliminary sketch lines (see below) and the typical colourful treatment of the girls, their skins and garments etc.

In short, I felt forced - though very unwillingly - to agree that it is nearly impossible to regard the bottle as a fake. I believe it may indeed have been painted by one of the Etruscan pupils, perhaps the Pretty-ivy-painter, known from the ornaments (*CH* 91-93).

This means that, by studying the alabastron more carefully, we can learn what kind of mistakes or perhaps wilful mockery a not ungifted pupil in a pottery workshop may produce.[19]

DETAILED DISCUSSION

While reading this paper one should keep in mind that the figures of the alabastron are very small (less than 5 cm) and those of the hydriae more than twice as large; besides, nearly all pictures of the alabastron printed here are enlarged. This may impair the value of the detailed comparisons made below.

There are indeed, as Bothmer remarked, numerous traces of preliminary sketching as Kees Neeft kindly pointed out to me.[20]

Frieze A (figs. 2-3)

In this frieze the painter imitated the style of the Busiris Painter with considerable success, copying the scene of the hydria no. 25, 'Market Pholos', *figs. 1c-d* (but compare also *fig. 1e*).

Heracles (*figs. 2a, g*).
Hair and beard once red, as was the lion skin (repainted black). His beard is re-incised and made far too long (the shorter one is still visible, *fig. 2g*).

I suspect that the chiton may have been coloured (it is white on the model-hydria, *figs. 1c-d*). Heracles' skirt looks very unauthentic: it is too long and the stiff incisions do not tally with the style and repertory of the hydria painters (but the incisions seem heavily retraced).[21] We have spoken of the tree in Heracles' hand; he clearly holds it in his left hand: the end is visible above his fist (*fig. 2a*).[22]

As on the hydria (*fig. 1c*) the skull of the lion has slipped from Heracles' head and hangs backwards; apparently, the modern restorer did not understand this (rather unusual) detail and tried to scrape it off (*fig. 2g*), but without success.

The knot in the tail of the lion skin (*fig. 2g*) is, as it were, the signature of the workshop (*CH* pls. 33d, 55f, 82a, 92b; p. 80 etc., especially184); the painter copied it faithfully. Heracles' quiver is omitted as is his bow (compare *fig. 1c*: here the quiver is painted black and incised against the red of the lion skin). Not all contours are incised and there are no incisions in his feet.

Centaur 1 (*figs. 2a, b, h*)
We have seen (note 5) that Bothmer removed the second arm, a false restoration, still visible in *fig. 2a*. A comparison of *fig. 2b and 2h* shows that Bothmer must also have cleaned part of his tree.

Head incisions modern. Hair and beard once red; tail (incised on the right leg of centaur 2, *figs.*

2b, i) once coloured, and probably also the hooves of his hind legs (but there is no trace of colour left).

This centaur consists of a bearded man (with human feet but without genitals!) attached to the body and hind legs of a horse (again without genitals). Such a sexless centaur is unknown on the hydriae, where all have both human and equine genitals (*CH* 121). Besides, they never have human feet, only hooves, though their front legs are human. The Eagle Painter marks the human buttocks in the equine shoulder, as on our alabastron (*figs. 2a, h*), but the Busiris Painter does not: his centaurs look therefore more 'natural' (*figs. 1c-d*). In such respects the 'Pontic' scene of *fig. 1e* seems closer!

He attacks with a tree like centaur 1 on the hydria (*figs. 1c-d*), but his breast is turned towards us. Therefore, the tree should pass in front of his head. This mistake (of showing the front in stead of the back) is very common on the hydriae (*CH* pls. 43b; 44a, b, d; 90d; 104b; 105a). His knee and human buttocks are marked more or less according to the style of the Eagle Painter, like those of centaur 2. The hind legs of centaur 1 are stretched stiffly backwards (*fig. 2b*), like those of the other two (*figs. 2c, i-j*; and also those on the Pontic vase, *fig. 1e*), whereas the hind legs of centaur 1 on the model hydria (*figs. 1c-d*) are firmly fixed on the ground to lift the prancing forepart.

Centaur 2 (*figs. 2c, i*)
Beard and tail once coloured (his hair is heavily scratched, rather like the lion's scalp of *fig. 2g*). Hooves perhaps white (like those of centaur 1 in *fig. 1c*). Equine body long. Human genitals, but no equine ones.

He attacks with a tree in the usual way, roots forward, while his back is turned towards us (he is not shown frontally, as centaur 1 is). I am not sure that his human torso was black: perhaps it may have been red, like the first centaur on the 'Pontic'amphora, *fig. 1e*, which is also partly black and partly red. (On the other hand, centaur 1 on the hydria is wholly black, *fig. 1c*). Behind him we see the tree dropped by centaur 3: in *fig. 1d*, this tree is more to left, touching Heracles' foot.

Centaur 3 (*figs. 2c-d, i-j*)
Hair and beard once red; tail (crossing behind the left human leg of centaur 2) also once coloured (white?). This centaur seems to have four human feet (!), its equine body is short, as on the hydria (*fig. 1d*). His human legs are very heavy. In this figure all incisions follow exactly those of the Busiris Painter (more clearly than in the other centaurs): note his hair style (with forelock combed over the forehead) and the swift and sketchy incisions in his beard, breast, calves etc. He has dropped his tree and is fleeing, but he looks round (unlike centaur 3 on the hydria, *fig. 1d*). In *fig. 2j* we see two of his front legs (with feet, not hooves), whereas, on the hydria no 25, only one hoof with calf is shown (*fig. 1d*); besides, he is not looking round.

Frieze B (figs. 2a-d; 3a-i)

In this frieze the painter closely imitated the style of the Eagle Painter, down to details like feet, ears etc. but the figures are tiny compared to those of the hydriae.

As has been said above, in East Greek ware there are plenty of rows of dancing girls holding each other by the wrist and confronted (or headed) by an (often female) flautist; but no such scene is found on the hydriae.[23]

The proportions of some of the girls seem unusual, but strange proportions are also found in the work of the Eagle Painter, especially when the available space forced him to change them (see *CH* 116): when the place to be filled by the figures was too spacious, he drew very thick figures, as, e.g., *CH* pl. 30b, no 3, 'Louvre Hermes'; and when it was too narrow and high, he painted very slender, tall bodies, as in *CH* pl. 31 (which is the obverse of the same vase, no 3!). The tall flute player of no 15, 'Copenhagen Sacrifice', *fig. 4c*, is also tall and slender (CH pl. 67c).

The skin of all six girls was white, their hair black (compare *figs. 4a-d*). The dresses were black or coloured (B1, B3, B5; *figs. 3a, c, e*), or perhaps bi-coloured (as in *fig. 4c*). The heads of the girls are like those of the early work of the Eagle Painter, *figs. 4a-e* (details of nos 5, 15 and 12),[24] but some skulls are too pointed and high (*figs. 3 a, e, i*).

B1, the woman playing the pipes, whose cheeks are puffed up by blowing and whose hands are rather badly drawn (*figs. 2a, 3a*), may be compared to her counterpart on no 15, *figs. 4c, e* (*CH* pl. 67c, 68b).[25] The flute was once coloured (red as on the hydria). Her dress is difficult to understand but a comparison with the other flute playing girl may help (*fig. 4c*). Her sleeve is just visible at her elbow; the himation covers both shoulders but how low it hangs down is unclear; possibly it descended no further than her waist, where she seems to wear a belt; the skirt must then be part of her tunic. Both garments were coloured; the tunic (or chiton) may have been red (on *fig. 4c* it

Fig. 4a. Detail of girl on Caeretan hydria CH *no 5, 'Vienna Hephaestus' (enlarged; after* CH *pl. 39a).*
Fig. 4b. Detail of dancing girl on no 12, 'Louvre Tityus' (enlarged ca 2.6:1; after CH *pl. 59c).*

Fig. 4c. Woman playing pipes on no 15, 'Copenhagen Sacrifice' (1;1; after CH *pl.67c).*

Fig. 4d. Same girl as fig. 4b (size 7:8; after CH *pl. 59c).*

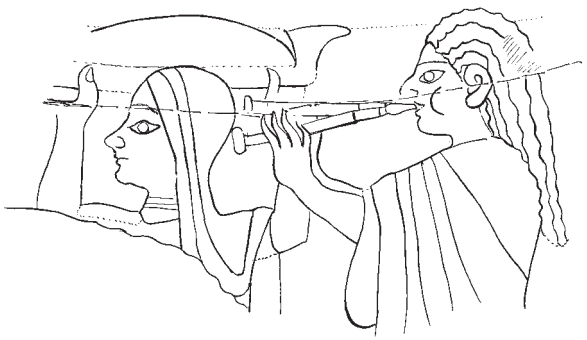

Fig. 4e. Tracing of fig. 4c and woman in front of her (after CH *138, fig. 72).*

is black, but that is impossible here) and the mantel white. All this is guess work and only valid if we accept that the painter was a contemporary and pupil of the masters acquainted with the colours they loved to use.

The drapery of the other girls seemed at first sight suspect to me: they wear the usual long tunics, but only the upper part is shown. Their himation seems slung round the lower part of their body up to about their waist (*figs. 3b-c*), in some cases up to the breast (*figs. 3d-e*); only the himation of the sixth girl (*fig. 3f*), is draped in the usual manner, around her right shoulder (see *figs. 2a-d*). All this is awkward and, to my knowledge, unknown on Greek vases, though one of the bare-bottomed dancing girls on no 12, (*fig. 4d*; 'Louvre Tityus', *CH* Pl. 59) we see similar folds running from the breast to the waist.[26]

These mantles should, if the painter followed the usage of the hydriae, differ in colour from the chitons (see *fig. 4c*); but their shape is very different from those on the hydriae.

The two ends of all these himatia hang down from the forearm. On the Caeretan hydriae they are sometimes provided with a wide border, sometimes of a different colour.[27] This may have been the case on B2, B3 (*figs. 3b-c*) and others, but all colours are lost. Yet, both tunic and mantle of B5 (*fig. 3e*) have a thinned underpaint, which means that they were coloured red or white; if one may guess, the intention was to paint the tunic red and the mantle white with a coloured border hanging from the lower arm. All this, however, is pure guess work.

The extraordinary bird (a goose judging from its beak and head; *figs. 2a, 3g*) reminds us of the bird flying in front of the Zeus-bull on the hydria no 13 'Rome Europa' (*CH* pl. 62a); both are white (body) and black (wings).

On the hydriae female breasts are hardly rendered: there is a timid attempt in Maia on no 3 ('Louvre Hermes', *CH* pl. 29b, 30b) and a more natural rendering on 'Leda' of no 31 ('Louvre Leda', *CH* pl. 112b-c, p. 48 fig. 37), but in general this detail is, rather unexpectedly, ignored. The more noteworthy is the pronounced bosom of B4 (*figs. 2c, 3d*). A similar rendering seems visible in B3 (*fig. 3c*), but this probably is a blob of paint made by mistake and cut off by the contour incision defining the chest. On B2, *fig. 3b*, there is a similar blob of paint at the level of the breast and comparable ones, or slighter stains, are remarkably frequent in this frieze: at the shoulder of B2, above and below her left arm, in front of B3, at the breast of B5 etc.[28]

Most incisions on this alabastron are rather heavily drawn, e.g. B1 (*figs. 2a, 3a*) (but we should not forget that the figures in our pictures are enlarged). On the hydriae contour incisions play an important role in defining the figures (*figs. 1c-d*). In frieze A some contours are not incised, especially parts of the of Heracles figure (*fig. 2g*). In frieze B most are, though not all: for example, the back of B4 (*fig. 3d*) and her feet (*fig. 2c*). The feet of the other girls are outlined with loving care (*figs. 3a-f*); note the hook-shaped markings of the ankle bones which look like 'signatures' of the Eagle Painter.

Summarizing, many of us would by now be inclined to accept the bottle as a genuine by-product of our workshop. Still, the dating is a bit controversial: the style of frieze B is that of the early Eagle Painter, about 520 BC. The figures of frieze A (*figs. 2g-j*) need not be later, but the supposed model of this frieze, the hydria of *figs. 1c-d*, can hardly be so early (rather 510 BC or a little later).[29] Are we to believe that the alabastron imitates an earlier version of this Pholos scene, also painted by the Busiris Painter? It is true that almost every scene depicted by the masters of the hydriae may (or perhaps mùst) have been repeated many times, but in this case I was firmly convinced that the alabastron was made in direct imitation of the Pholos hydria of *figs. 1c-d*.

Having reached the end of this rather long discussion, I hope it will not be regarded as 'much ado about nothing'. The study of this close imitation of the two very different hands of the Masters of the hydriae may help us to reconsider the limitations of the technique of modern forgeries, and to become aware of the possible misleading playfulness of Etruscan apprentices in a Greek workshop.

Still I would not be surprised if some doubt remained in the mind of some readers. At the time, I proposed to test the vase with thermol-

uninescence, but Bothmer found it unnecessary. Even now, many years later, I would not dare to foretell its result!

NOTES

1 In this paper the hydriae are indicated by their number in the catalogue of *CH* (see abbreviations) together with their denomination which consists in the city/museum and their subject; e.g. no.19, 'Amsterdam Horse-tamer'.
Abbreviations:
CH: J.M. Hemelrijk, *The Caeretan Hydriae*, Mainz am Rhein 1984.
*CH*II: J.M. Hemelrijk, Three Caeretan Hydriae in Malibu and New York, in *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6, Malibu 2000, 87-158.
Bothmer 1983: von Bothmer, Echoes from Egypt, in H. de Meulenaere/L. Limme (eds.), *Artibus Aegypti, Studia in Honorem Bernardi v. Bothmer*, Brussels, 1983.
Alabastron: J.M. Hemelrijk, An alabastron produced by the workshop of the Caeretan hydriae, in *Atti del Secondo Congresso internazionale Etrusco*, Florence, May 26-June 2, 1985, II, Rome 1989, 729-732.

2 Bothmer 1983, 18-19, figs. 13-16. A more detailed publication followed in *Alabastron*. See further *CH* 201 and *CH*II note 51. I thank Cees Neeft and Vincent Tosto for their detailed notes they sent me in the eighties of the last century from the U.S.

3 I am grateful to the authorities of the Bryn Mawr collection for the permission to study it and to publish a photograph. Gift of Mrs Lincoln Dryden. Probably from Italy. Height 18.1 cm, max. diam. 6.6 cm. The colour of the surface is very like that of the Caeretan hydriae, with similar tiny particles of 'mica'. The upper part has fired reddish, a very common defect of the hydriae. The lugs are flattish; they are painted. There are bits of fired clay inside, serving as stones for swinging the oil around.

4 Actually, I have seen photographs of vases that were/are in Bothmer's collection which seemed suspect to me but were said to be genuine by Bothmer.

5 In a letter of October 19, 1981 Dietrich v. Bothmer writes: 'Please observe that the second arm of the centaur greeting Herakles on A is a false restoration that I have since removed.' This arm is still visible in *fig. 2a*.

6 These rosettes are very like those on the neck of no 1, 'London Battle', *CH* 103, fig. 59b-c and pl.1a-b; the leaves of all other rosettes have black borders round a red or white core (*CH* figs. 58e, 59f, pls. 1c-d; 4; 5, nos 7-8).

7 For good colour photographs see M. Cristofani e.a., *Die Etrusker, Geheimnisvolle Kultur im antiken Italien*, Stuttgart/Zurich [no date], 11 (detail of B), 187, text by M. Martelli on p. 190.

8 H.P. Isler published the Pholos hydria in 1982: *Greek Vases from the Hirschmann collection*, Zurich 1982, 28-31, 96. In a joint article in *BABesch* 52-53 (1977-1978) 1-30, with Stella Lubsen, we mentioned the vase on p. 7 speaking about Heracles with the words 'and two in Switzerland'.

9 The lotus palmette under it is vigorous and has left too little space for the frieze above it: ornaments were finished before the figure painter started painting. In this case the Busiris Painter painted both; apparently he did not plan the vase carefully enough, but this is common on the Caeretan hydriae (*CH* 116).

10 In *Alabastron* I wrote: 'Such an astonishing stupidity is only possible on a modern forgery, or may be ascribed (pace the Etruscologists) to an Etruscan imitator or pupil with little understanding of Greek myth.'

11 Bothmer gives a curious description: 'two branches are held by the centaur with both hands, in greeting rather than attack'.

12 Munich 838: L. Hannestad, *The Followers of the Paris Painter*, Copenhagen 1976, 54, pls. 2-3.

13 See *CH* 162 for the somewhat unexpected absence of such female choruses on the hydriae.

14 Chiot, Clazomenian, e.g. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich 1923, figs. 142-144, but they are lacking in East Greek ware produced in Etruria, including the Campana dinoi and the Northampton amphorae (which are often believed to have been produced in Etruria, but see my article in *BABesch* 82, 2007, 365-421). This frieze on the alabastron, if genuine, is the first close link of the Caeretan hydriae with the Clazomenian repertory.

15 For birds carried by the neck, see *Alabastron* note 4: the Mistress of Animals (or rather: of Birds) often holds birds by the neck in prehistoric Greece, and this is found later too, but never in a dance or in a peaceful scene, except for an East Greek ('Carian') jug in the collection Dierichs (*Funde aus der Antike, Sammlung Dierichs*, Kassel, 1981, 40 no 9) on which a negro or Pygmy hops about with a crane in each hand (is it certain that the figure is male?).

16 The incisions of the wings are very like those of the sphinxes on no 32, 'Louvre Leda' (*CH* pl. 113), which also seem to have been retraced.

17 With 'modern glaze' Bothmer seems to refer to a modern imitation of the ancient clay paint that is fired black in the reducing phase of the firing; such ancient black areas are often restored with modern black paint. Bothmer seems to imply that the ancient technique of reducing clay paint to black during firing is also used for producing modern forgeries.

18 If this is correct, the alabastron must have been discovered about 1964 or so.

19 For the (Etruscan) employees or apprentices in the shop, painters and, possibly, potters, see *CH* passim. No less than two and probably more extra hands can be recognized in the ornaments, *CH* 91-96 and 101-112.

20 I thank Kees Neeft for information about the numerous traces of preliminary sketching, which von Bothmer observed (see above): in the skirt of Heracles, the hind leg of centaur 1, the human buttock of centaur 2 and his equine buttock; the left foot of centaur 3 and his lifted left arm.

21 But compare Heracles' skirt on no 11, 'Louvre Cerberus', *CH* pl. 55-56.

22 In his letter Bothmer seemed to suggest that the tree is also held by the foremost centaur, but this is not the case.

23 Klazomenian: see note 14; Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI 1, nos 919, 965 pl. 127. A very close parallel for the scene on our alabastron seems the slender amphora(?) found on Samos and published by A.E. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980) 188-197, Beil. 1 and pls. 54-55: the technique, however is wholly different (colourful painting on a whitish background without incisions). The flautists of these choruses are often believed to be male; in many cases this is a mistake.

24 *CH* pls. 29, 30, 37-40, 52-53, 59-60.

25 Satyrs play the pipes on nos 4 and 14, *CH* pl. 5b and 65b-c.

[26] Similar strange folds are seen on the Chiot krater mentioned above: Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI 1 no 700, pl. 100.

[27] The two Caeretan masters had no great interest in, nor sufficient mastery of drawing himatia of females: often they only drew the long end or edge that hung from the shoulder on the off-side, omitting the rest, a very curious defect, that does, however, not spoil the quality of the picture: see the fine lady 'Leda' of no 31, *CH* 48, fig. 37 and the very stiff Europa of no 10, *CH* 22, fig. 10 etc. (see for drapery *CH* 129). On males, however, the himation is long and, thrown over the left shoulder, its ends hang down on that side: the broad border is painted in a different colour and sometimes there are two colours in different parts of these mantles: Dionysus of no 5, the same god of no 9 and no 14 and also, for example, Oineus on no 17 (*CH* 15, fig. 5; 21, fig. 9; 28, fig. 17; 31, fig. 22, pls. 37a, 49a, 65a, 72c).

[28] Comparing this detail of B5 in *figs. 2d and 3e* we notice that here too (and elsewhere in frieze B) Bothmer has been cleaning the vase: *figs. 2a-d* were made before that time!

[29] See *CH* 157-159; I will before long return to the dating and other problems of the hydriae in a forthcoming paper about them.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 61-71. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033098.

The Honor of Orestes and the Cowardice of Aigisthos
Formation of the Social Ideal and Athenian Vase-Painting in the Early-Classical Period

Toshihiro Osada

Abstract

*In the early classical period the theme of the murder of Aigisthos by Orestes became popular in Athenian vase-paintings. In previous studies the twelve examples of this theme discussed herein have been interpreted as an identical scene. However, it would seem that they actually fall into two groups. In the earlier works the painters depict the legend as one of succession to the throne, punishment of the false king, and thus emphasize the aristocratic value-system of their time. In the later examples we see how the bravery of Orestes is contrasted to the cowardice of Aigisthos. In this way the new image of Orestes, the hero, embodies the model of virtue for the Athenian citizen; that is, a model of self-sacrifice under democracy.**

From the end of the 6th to the middle of the 5th century, the theme of the murder of Aigisthos by Orestes was popular in Athens. In vase-painting, about twelve examples depicting this subject remain. Almost all express the same scene, in which the standing Orestes attacks the seated Aigisthos with a sword. E. Vermeule started the study of this iconography in 1966 when she published research about the famous *krater* in Boston, and later R.M. Gais, A.N.W. Prag and D. Knoepfler each made catalogues about the themes of Oresteia myth.[1]

In those previous studies the twelve vase examples tended to be treated altogether, interpreted in principle as an identical scene. They have all been seen as giving the same message to the viewer. But when one pays attention to the details, one notices slight variations, which seem to be very significant, both in terms of style and interpretation.

The twelve vase-paintings were all made between Kleisthenes' reform in 508/507 BC and the Ephialtes' reform in 462/461 BC. It was the period in Athens when the democratic and conservative powers fought violently against each other; causing strife that actually approximated civil war. As a result the conservative pro-Spartans finally declined and so-called 'perfect democracy' was established. In my opinion, developments in the iconography of Orestes on vase-paintings seem to reflect the change in sense of value urged by the change of social structure.

In this article I want to show that the role of these visual images became more important as a vehicle to express the social ideal at this time. The iconography remained almost the same, but its character and narration seems to have changed. The rendering of vase-paintings became less bound to the literary tradition. As a result they seem to have conveyed the image of a new model of virtue for the citizen, under a newly established social institute; that is, self-sacrifice under democracy.

LITERATURE

Firstly, I would like to survey the literary tradition of the Orestes myth. Homer already makes reference both to the murder of Agamemnon, and that of Aigisthos; the most important parts of the Orestes myth. The Odyssey refers three times to these mythical events.[2]

Homer's description of Aigisthos' character is clearly negative. The expression 'wily' or '*dolometis*' is often used about him as a fixed form and the word 'coward' or '*analkis*' is also seen.[3] The cowardice of Aigisthos seems especially emphasized when Nestor says: 'We on our part abode there in Troy fulfilling our many toils; but he, at ease in a nook of horse-pasturing Argos, ever sought to beguile with words the wife of Agamemnon'.[4] After Homer, Stesichoros and Simonides are also said to have written the *Oresteia* in the late archaic period, both in 6th century BC.[5]

One of the problems which have often been discussed about this myth, is the location of the palace of the Atreus family. The literature mentions

it so vaguely. Homer says the family lived in Mycenae, but later it is often referred to as being in Laconia. Stesichoros says, for example, the palace was in Sparta, Simonides also Sparta, and Pindaros gives the place name Amyklai, also near Sparta. But Aischylos describes it being at Argos, then Sophokles and Euripides as being Mycenae once again.

The palace was thus first located in Mycenae by Homer but in the tradition of the archaic and early classical literature it is almost always said to be in Laconia. Stesichoros seems to have been the first to locate the palace of Agamemnon in Laconia but the reason is not clear.[6] In the case of Simonides it is easier to explain because he was obviously pro-Spartan: he was active indeed in Athens, but also wrote hymns and epitaphs for the Spartan soldiers, such as the war-dead in Thermopylae. He was originally invited to Athens by the tyrant Hipparchos, hence he was very active in Athens as pro-tyrant and pro-Spartan, clearly committed to the conservative and aristocratic movement of that time. He lived in the late archaic and early classical period, almost the same time that the twelve vase-paintings of the Orestes myth were made.[7]

After Simonides, other authors also often mention Laconia as the location of the palace. Pindaros, who refers three times to the Orestes myth in his odes, locates it in Amyklai or Sparta.[8] Herodotos also describes the royal family of Agamemnon as Spartan.[9]

Needless to say, the longest and most detailed version of the Orestes myth was that written by Aischylos.[10] His trilogy, *Oresteia*, was performed in 458 BC. In this he located the palace not in Sparta but in Argos. Thus he relocates it again, but this time the reason seems clearer, because Athens had made an alliance with Argos in 461/460 BC, three years ago.[11] Around the same time (462/461 BC) a political change had occurred in Athens: so-called 'perfect democracy' had been established following Ephialtes' reforms, while pro-Spartan conservative influence seems to have had declined, because Kimon had been ostracized by the device of Ephialtes. However, whether Aischylos himself was pro-democrat or conservative, seems difficult to answer.[12] Later, Sophokles and Euripides both locate the palace in Mycenae again, but this was only because Athens subsequently broke its alliance with Argos.

About the character of Aigisthos, the poet Aischylos also gives a clearly negative judgment: the chorus describes him as 'womanish' or '*gynai*', which reminds us of the earlier words of Homer. The chorus doesn't hesitate to abuse the false king, and in particular, his cowardice:

> 'Woman that you are! Skulking at home and awaiting the return of the men from war, all the while defiling a hero's bed, did you contrive this death against a warrior chief?'
> 'As if you would ever truly be my master here in Argos, you who did contrive our king's death, and then had not the courage to do this deed of murder with your own hand!'
> 'Why then, in the baseness of your soul, did you not kill him yourself, but leave his slaying to a woman.'[13]

In summary, we see that in the late archaic and early classical period the Orestes myth was located in Sparta, especially in Athens by almost all the authors, and seems to have thus been given a Laconian and probably aristocratic color, until the trilogy of Aischylos was performed in 458 BC. From that time the pro-Spartan, conservative powers seem to have declined.

Fig. 1. Krater *by Ram Jug Painter. Berlin (West) A 32, Inv. 31573 (after Prag 1985, pl. 5b).*

Fig. 2. Bronze shield decoration. Olympia Mus. B1654 (after Prag 1985, pl. 6b).

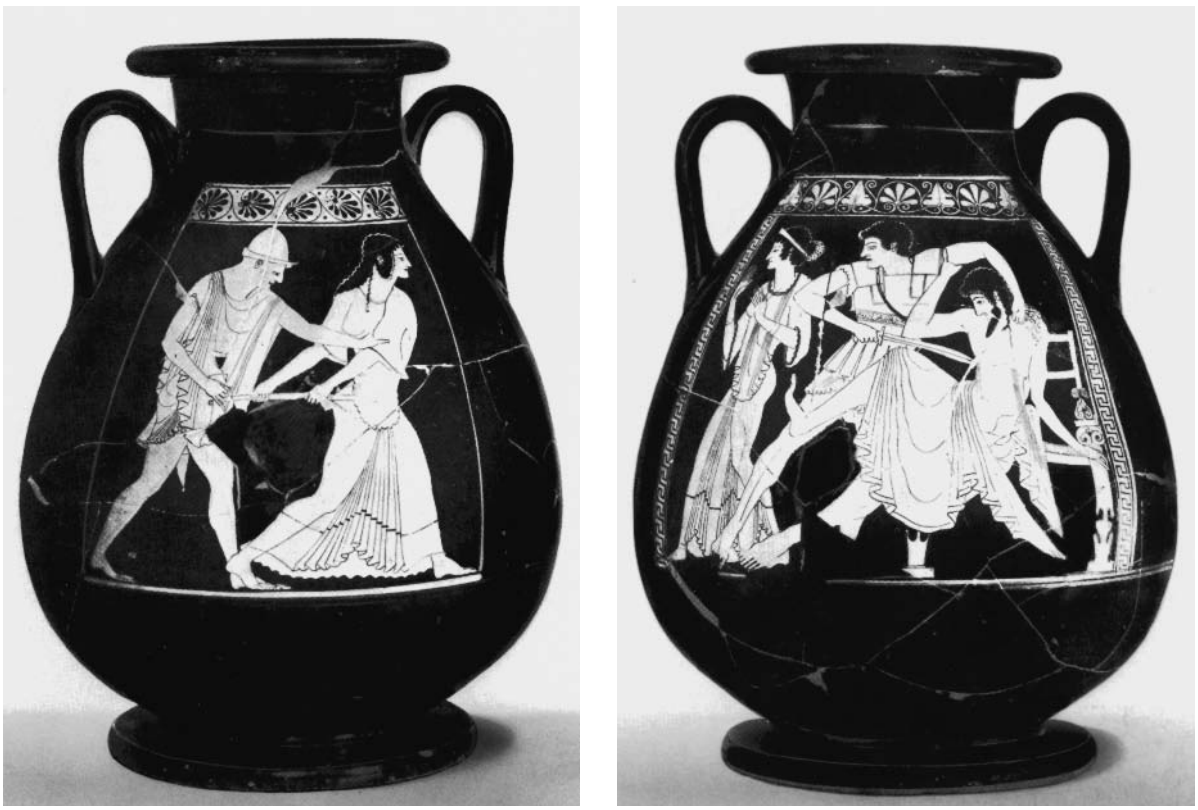
ORESTES MYTH IN FINE ARTS BEFORE THE LATE ARCHAIC PERIOD

In the field of fine arts various scenes of Orestes myth were expressed but the most popular one was the rendering of the murder of Aigisthos by Orestes. The scene depicting the murder of Agamemnon by Aigisthos or the murder of the mother Klytaimestra by Orestes remain only in a few pieces of Greek art, but we want to concentrate here on the murder of Aigisthos. Before we see the twelve Athenian vase-paintings, let's look at two older examples. Figure 1 shows one of the first renderings of the murder of Aigisthos by Orestes, a protoattic *krater* from 670 to 650 BC. The black colored Orestes grasps the hair of Aigisthos, the pretender to the throne, while Klytaimestra walks away. The queen raises her hand, which seems to show her worry.[14]

Figure 2 shows a bronze shield decoration from the first quarter of the 6th century BC, made probably in either Argos or Corinth.[15] This example is especially important because it shows already compositions of the murder of Aigisthos which would later become typical: the hero Orestes, standing, attacks his enemy, Aigisthos, seated on a throne. Thus, already in the archaic period, Aigisthos is seemingly characterized as a pretender to the throne. The young hero, Orestes, not only revenges his father's death, but punishes the false king. This composition is actually very similar to the scene of the killing of the king Priamos by Neoptolemos, one of the episodes of the Fall of Troy; hence the scene must have served as a compositional model for the murder of Aigisthos.[16] The special phase of the story, namely the succession of the throne, seems to be emphasized in this rendering and it influenced the whole later development of the iconographical tradition of the Orestes myth.[17]

ATHENIAN VASE-PAINTINGS RENDERING THE MURDER OF AIGISTHOS, 510-465 BC

In Athenian art the subjects of Orestes myth were not especially popular till the archaic period but the murder of Aigisthos in vase-paintings abruptly came into favor at the end of the 6th century, continuing until the middle of the 5th century BC.



Figs. 3 a-b. Pelike *by the Berlin Painter. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3725 (after Schefold 1978, figs. 351-352).*

Fig. 4. Stamnos *by the Tyszkiewicz-Painter. Zürich, Arch. Sammlung der Universität 3451 (photograph: Silvia Hertig, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich).*

Fig. 5. Stamnos *by the Tyszkiewicz-Painter. Vatican, Astarita 530 (after Prag 1985, pl. 10d).*

As I mentioned earlier, twelve pieces depicting this murder scene survive.[18]

1. A *pelike* from the end of the 6th century painted by the Berlin Painter (*figs. 3 a-b*). One of the first attic vase-paintings in this period which shows Orestes and Aigisthos. Inscriptions are given to all the figures: the man, who prevents Klytaimestra from attacking, is the servant, Talthybios; the frightened woman, who is watching Klytaimestra, is her daughter, Chrysothemis, the sister of Orestes and Elektra. Aigisthos, bitterly resisting, is seated on an elaborately decorated throne.[19]
2. A *lekythos* from the beginning of the 5th century, now in Boston. Behind Aigisthos either the back of a throne or part of a scepter is showing.[20]
3. A *stamnos*, from 480 to 470 BC by the Tyszkiewicz-Painter, now in Zürich (*fig. 4*). Only the three figures, Orestes, Aigisthos and Klytaimestra are depicted.[21]
4. A *stamnos*, now in the Vatican collection, also by the Tyszkiewicz-Painter (*fig. 5*).[22]
5. A *hydria* which formerly belonged to the Higgins collection, but of which only this unclear photo survives (*fig. 6*). Notice that Aigisthos is rendered with a scepter in his right hand.[23]
6. A *stamnos*, once in Berlin, also no longer survives, from 475 to 470 BC by the Copenhagen-Painter (*fig. 7*). Inscriptions are given. The woman behind Aigisthos is Elektra.[24]
7. A *krater*, now in Bologna, from 470 BC by the Aigisthos-Painter (*fig. 8*).[25]
8. A *krater*, now in Malibu, California, also by the Aigisthos-Painter (*fig. 9*). Many figures appear, and these show the great skill of the painter. The painting is especially noteworthy because a woman with a baby is depicted between Orestes and Klytaimestra. This is the only example of such a depiction of the story. The woman has short hair, wears a humble dress, allowing us to assume she is a nurse of no importance. The baby has been generally interpreted as the child of Aigisthos and Klytaimestra, either Erigone or Aletes.[26]
9. The famous Boston *krater* from 470 to 465 BC, by the Dokimasia-Painter (*fig. 10*). The back depicts the original murder which causes Orestes to seek revenge, namely the scene of Agamemnon's murder by Aigisthos and Klytaimestra.[27]
10. A *stamnos* now in Boston from 470 till 465 BC (*figs. 11 a-b*). This was also painted by the Berlin-Painter. Although he painted the same theme earlier, this second piece seems to come from his later years.[28]
11. A *stamnos* now in Basel, by the Triptolemos-Painter (*fig. 12*). The palm tree is a rare addition in this rendering, it seems to suggest that the scene occurred outside of the palace.[29]
12. A *stamnos* now at the Louvre, by the Copenhagen-Painter (*fig. 13*).[30]

As I mentioned before, the twelve paintings have hitherto been seen as a single scene, expressing the same subject. But here, paying attention to

Fig. 6. Hydria. *Once in Higgins Collection (after Prag 1985, pl. 11a).*

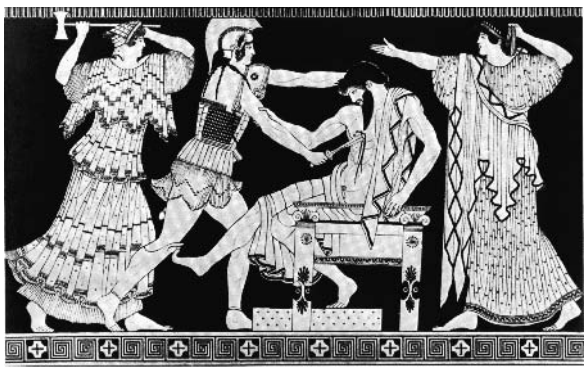


Fig. 7. Stamnos *by the Copenhagen-Painter. Once in Berlin F2148 (old 1007) (after Simon 1985, pl. 66).*

Fig. 8. Krater *by the Aigisthos-Painter. Bologna, Museo Civico 230 (C. 81) (after Prag 1985, pl. 12c).*

five particular details, they seem to be divided into two groups:

a. The pose of Orestes: the later pieces, nos 9 (*fig. 10*), 10 (*fig. 11*) and 12 (*fig. 13*), render Orestes in the same pose as Aristogeiton, at the left of the Tyrannicides, while the earlier ones do not show this pose.
b. The chair: The earlier pieces, nos 1 (*fig. 3*), 2 , 3 (*fig. 4*), 6 (*fig. 7*), 7 (fig. 8) and 8 (*fig. 9*), often render Aigisthos sitting on the elaborately decorated throne, while the later ones, nos 5 (*fig. 6*), 9 (*fig. 10*), 10 (*fig. 11*), 11 (*fig. 12*) depict him simply on an ordinary chair, a *klismos*.
c. The cowardice: In nos 2, 9 (*fig. 10*), 10 (*fig. 11*) and 11 (*fig. 12*) Aigisthos tends his right hand with the palm upward, the typical body language of someone pleading for his life. Hence he is depicted in these pieces as a coward.
d. The *barbitos*: In paintings nos 9 (*fig. 10*) and 10 (*fig. 11*) Aigisthos is rendered with a kind of lyre, a *barbitos*.
e. The head dress of Klytaimestra: In no 6 (*fig. 7*) Klytaimestra wears a turban and diadem, while in nos 9 (*fig. 10*), 10 (*fig. 11*) and 12 (*fig. 13*) she wears a *tainia*.

As seen in the table 1, the twelve examples could fall thus into two groups: eight pieces from 1 to 8 and four from 9 to 12. There are indeed some exceptions, but they could also be classified chronologically into earlier and later groups. The division of the two groups occurs some time between 470 to 465 BC, slightly earlier than the reforms of Ephialtes, in 462/461 BC.

The most remarkable difference between the earlier and later group is the pose of Orestes. The hero on the later pieces attacks his enemy in exactly the same way as the Tyrannicides (e.g. *fig. 10*). As Herodotos tells us, the slayers of the tyrant were praised by Athenian citizens at least by the time of the battle of Marathon in 490 BC. The citizens sung a song for them at symposions and erected statues in their honor.[31] It seems that in the later examples the young hero Orestes is more characterized as the slayer of the tyrant.

On the other hand, in these pieces Aigisthos is depicted as a coward (e.g. *fig. 11*). The pose of begging one's life is not to be found in the rendering of the Greek warrior. I myself have never found a single piece, regardless of subject, where a full-armed warrior or *hoplites* is rendered with this gesture. It seems it was a kind of taboo at that time to render the image of the *hoplites* in this cowardly pose. As I have pointed out in a previous paper, the *hoplites* was also never rendered as run-

Table 1. Features of rendering

piece	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**
date (BC)	510/500	500/490	480/475	480/475	480/470	475/470	470	465	470/465	470/465	470/465	465
a. pose of Tyrannicides	x	x	x	x	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓	x	✓
b. *klismos*	x	x	x	?	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓	?
c. cowardice	x	✓	?	?	x	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓	?
d. *barbitos*	x	x	?	?	x	x	x	x	✓	✓	?	?
e. head-dress of Klytaimestra	x	x	?	?	?	diadem, turban	x	?	*tainia*, leaves	*tainia*	?	*tainia*

ning away from the battle field, contrary to the renderings of Amazons or the other *barbaroi*.[32]

As regards the gesture of fear in classical art, T.J. McNiven discussed this in an interesting paper published in 2000. He showed that gestures depicting fear in Greek Art, including the pose of begging for one's life, is only to be seen with women, children, old men (like King Priamos), monsters, like the Minotauros, Aigisthos and the tyrant Hipparchos. McNiven concludes that classical Greek art conveyed the message to viewers that only the male citizen possessed bravery and self-restraint, or *sophrosyne*.[33]

The lyre, or strictly speaking the *barbitos*, which Aigisthos holds, seems to have had the same meaning (e.g. *fig. 10*). In the literary tradition, even in the most detailed given by Aischylos, there is no mention that Aigisthos liked playing lyre or he was playing an instrument when he was attacked by Orestes. Having no literature which suggests the presence of the *barbitos* in this scene has therefore evoked much discussion. For example, some scholars saw it as the result of a confusion with the iconography of the slaying of the music teacher Linos by Herakles. But this rendering seems not the result of a simple confusion by the painter, but to have had a considerable significance. As A.N.W. Prag or G. Griffith inferred it could be interpreted as a motif that emphasizes the womanish character of Aigisthos.[34]

That music could be a mark of one's effeminate character is a notion that we find in two literary examples. One is in *Antiope* by Euripides, where Zethos blames Amphion, and another is in the *Iliad*, where the brave Hector blames his younger infirm brother, Alexandros Paris. As Griffith pointed out, the character of Aigisthos, who became the lover of Klytaimestra during hostilities, is actually very similar to that of Paris, who seduced Helene in the absence of her husband. Paris was famous for his skill with the lyre.[35]

On the other hand the rendering of Orestes seems to have been given a typical character, which people could easily accept or even admire. He is depicted often as a *hoplites* contrary to the rendering of Aigisthos (e.g. *fig. 10*). Till the 6th century Orestes was not depicted in the full armature of a *hoplites*.[36] Perhaps the *barbitos* was a tool, with which the painter could contrast Orestes to Aigisthos and so present more clearly the image of an ideal citizen that embodied the social ideal.

In the later examples the renderings tend to express virtue or a social ideal, rather than to describe the details of the myth. Originally, the myth told a story of revenge and the succession to the throne, and the earlier rendering depicted these points more directly. The expression of the later period became more general and not so descriptive of the literary narrative. For example, in the earlier paintings Orestes is rendered as looking back to his mother, who is raising an ax to attack her son (e.g. *figs. 3, 8, 9*). Why? Probably because the painters wanted to explain the story. According to the myth, after revenging his father's death on Aigisthos, Orestes must punish his mother, in turn suppressing psychological conflict. To explain this text Orestes' gesture of looking back would have been effective.

In the later paintings Orestes is not rendered as looking back because the painters have chosen the gesture of the Tyrannicides (e.g. *fig. 10*). In other words, the message of the tyrant-slayer seems more important than the story of the revenge itself. The details which described the story in the earlier examples, like the throne, the scepter of Aigisthos (*fig. 6*) or the *diadem* (*fig. 7*) of Klytaimestra, are no longer found in the later pieces. These motifs emphasized the succession to the throne and revenge on the false king. Yet, in the later pieces, this part of the text becomes less important.

But there seems to have been another reason why the later painters did not render the throne

Fig. 9. Krater *by the Aigisthos-Painter. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, 88 AE 66 (photograph Museum).*

Fig. 10. Krater *by the Dokimasia-Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.1246 (photograph museum).*

or scepter. I believe it has something to do with the Spartan role in the Orestes myth. As in the literary tradition, the story of Orestes was strongly connected to Laconia in this period in Athens, as seen typically in the pieces of Simonides. Meanwhile, it seems that the Athenian citizens did not want to connect the establishment of democracy with the intervention of the Spartan army. As P. Funke pointed out, the Athenian citizens had especially praised the Tyrannicides, because they wished to emphasize that democracy had been established not by the intervention of the Spartan army, but by the heroic achievement of the Athenians themselves.[37] Those who established *isonomia* should not have been a foreign military force, but rather a beautiful boy and his lover, who sacrificed their lives to do so. So, perhaps the vase painters eliminated the rendering of the throne because they wished to avoid the Spartan role in the story; taking the throne to have symbolized the Spartan palace at that time.[38]

Similarly, a shift of meaning in the entire iconography of Klytaimestra can also be seen. In the earlier examples the mother of the hero is depicted as either wearing a diadem, as seen in no 6 (*fig. 7*), which marks her as the queen, or without any head-dress. But in the later examples she is often rendered as wearing a *tainia*, as seen in nos 9 (*fig. 10*), 10 (*fig. 11*) and 12 (*fig. 13*). Above all, the example of no 9 (*fig. 10*) shows the *tainia* with leaves added, which was a typical head-dress for brides at their wedding ceremony. In ancient Greek art this head-dress is not only pictured in images of brides, but also of beautiful heroines, such as Helene or Danae, or goddesses, such as Hera. It could be said that it was a typical decoration for women who were intended to remind us strongly of their relationship to their lovers or husbands.[39]

In terms of the Boston *krater* (*fig. 10*), the painter may have rendered Klytaimestra's *tainia* with leaves to emphasize her womanly love for Aigisthos. Klytaimestra was the typical 'bad woman' figure of ancient Greek myth, and the motif of *tainia* seems to have clarified her character, because the relationship between wife and her lover in wartime must have been seen as one of the worst violations of social ethics. The morals women were expected to uphold in the classical period were summed up in the famous funeral speech of Perikles.[40] The *tainia* could therefore be interpreted as a clear message which indicated a violation of civil ethics.

So in the later examples we see motifs added that had never appeared earlier. The honor or *time*

Fig. 11a. Stamnos *by the Berlin-Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 91.227a, 91.226b (photograph museum).*

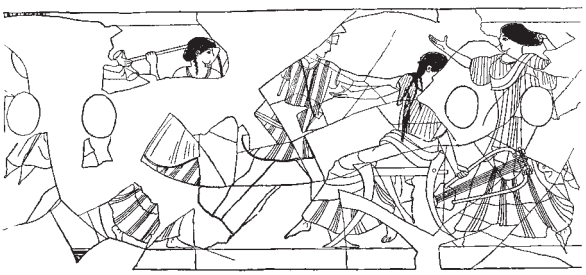


Fig. 11b. Drawing of fig. 11a (after Prag 1985, pl. 16b).

of Orestes is no longer reflected by the old aristocratic value-systems of the archaic period: it now means bravery or *andreia* which requires devotion and self sacrifice. Bravery and cowardice would be the two sides of the one coin, and so the morals of husband and wife. The mythical theme seems to remain now only on the surface, while a new message, about a social ideal for citizens under democracy, has become more important.

CONCLUSION

In sum, the compositions of the earlier examples of the eight vase paintings are more or less similar, so it could be supposed that they were actually derived from one model; most probably a mural painting.[41] This painting 'The murder of Aigisthos' might have been produced in about 510 BC or just before. Like the contemporary poet Simonides, the painter of this model seems to have observed the text, which set the story in Sparta and thus rendered an image of this. His rendering must have focused on the honor of Orestes, avenging his father's murder, and the punishment of the false king. Then this original was copied by the Berlin painter (no 1, *fig. 3*) and also by the other vase painters, even after the naval battle near Salamis, in 480 BC, giving us the pieces nos 3 to 8.

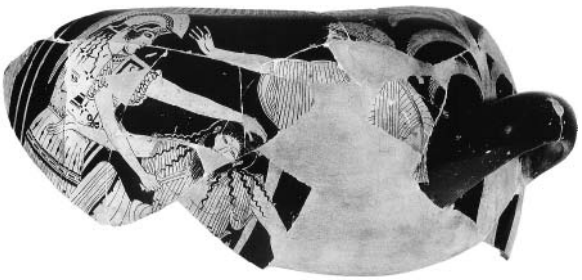


Fig. 12. Stamnos *by the Triptolemos-Painter. Basle, H.A. Cahn, 42 (photograph: Dr. Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter).*

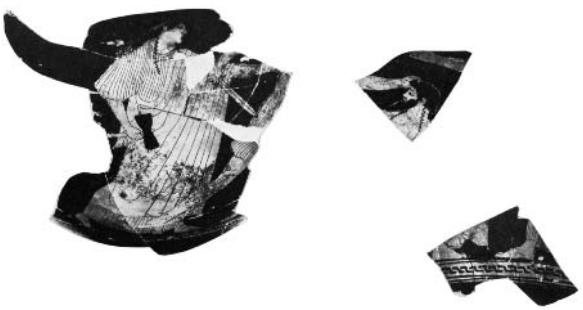


Fig. 13. Stamnos *by the Copenhagen-Painter. Louvre C11139 (after Prag 1985, pl. 20a).*

In around 470 BC a new version of the Orestes myth was depicted when the Boston *krater* (*fig. 10*) was made. It is possible that these later four vase paintings (*figs. 10-13*) were also produced following another new mural painting serving again as a model. But it is also possible that the vase painters themselves changed the composition, creating various new scenes without a model, but following other popular motifs of the time, such as those of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

In the earlier pieces the abundance of details and the narrative expressions stand out, typical characteristics of archaic art, while in the later the

simpler and more generic renderings appear which may almost predict the art of the Parthenon period. Perhaps we observe here the birth of classical style itself, a style namely used as a vehicle for the rendering of a more generalized message. That was the very process how the classical style was born because the fine art was required in that period to convey both ethical and social new ideals.

In these later examples the theme does not remain the same anymore. It seems to have shifted to the following three points:

1. The emphasis of house, or *oikos*, which was the most important and fundamental component of *polis*: the theme is no longer a story in the palace, but rather about succession in citizen's house.
2. The emphasis of democracy: the deed of Orestes is given honor, or *mnemosyne*, establishing freedom in Athens.[42]
3. The emphasis of the social ideal: the honor of the mythical *heros*, Orestes, lies in self- sacrifice, without fear of revenge by Erinyes.

In Athens after the Persian war, the old aristocratic value system must have become less important and not coped with the new social institution. Hence these vase paintings seem to have reflected the mentality of the Athenian citizens as they formed a new ideal of morality and ethics. The Athenians certainly changed the Orestes myth, but in so doing, they have actually painted us a self-portrait.

NOTES

* This paper was originally presented on 15 December 2006 in the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. I would like to thank Prof. J.L. Bintliff and Dr. L.B. van der Meer for their hospitality and for giving me the chance to give a lecture. I am also most grateful to Olivier Krischer who elaborated my English text. I would like to dedicate this paper to my teacher, the late Prof. Nobutoshi Fukube.

1 Vermeule 1966; Prag 1985; Gais 1981; Knoepfler 1993.

2 Hom. *Od*. 3.245-275; 4.512-537; 11.404-434. See Knoepfler 1993, 18-20.

3 Hom. *Od*. 3.310.

4 Hom. *Od*. 3.263-264 (tr. by S. Butler.).

5 From Homer to Pindaros only a few authors have referred to the Orestes myth. Besides Stesichoros and Simonides, the Hesiodic fragment from the *Ephoiai* and Agias's *Nostoi* (summarized by Proklos), are to be cited. See Merkelbach/West 1967, frg. 176; Procl., *EGF* 52-53. See also Gais 1981, 37; Knoepfler 1993, 26-39. The work of Stesichoros seems to have been an extended poem which revised the standard myth: Page 1962, Stesichoros frg. 42; Robert 1881, 149-150; Gais 1981, 371; Vermeule 1966, 12; Prag 1985, 73-74; Knoepfler 1993, 34-35. The *Oresteia* of Simonides was contemporary with the introduction of the Aigisthos scenes in vase-painting. See Vermeule 1966, 12.

6 Prag 1985, 74 assumes that the Spartans tampered with the legend as a result of the political awareness of their importance.

7 Prag 1985, 77, n. 66; Page 1962, 531; Parsons 1996, 1409.

8 Pind. *Nem*. 8.13; 11.34; *Pyth*. 11.15-37; Prag 1985, 77; Vermeule 1966, 12; Knoepfler 1993, 41.

9 Hdt. 7.159. Prag 1985, 77.

10 Knoepfler 1993, 50-83.

11 Dover 1957, 235-236; Dyer 1969, n. 30; Prag 1985, 84, 102. See also Macleod 1982. Before its alliance with Athens, Argos had destroyed Mycenae around 468/467 BC. See Prag 1985, 102.

12 Saïd 2001, 282. Cartledge 1997, 22, 26 notes that Aischylos advocated the middle course. Concerning the political attitude of Aischylos, see also Pöhlmann 2001, 406-407.

13 Aeschy. *Ag*. 1625-1626; 1634-1635; 1643-1644 (tr. by H. W. Smyth).

14 *Krater* in Berlin by Ram Jug Painter. Berlin (West) A 32, Inv. 31573: *CVA* Berlin I pls. 18-21 (64-67); Schefold 1964, 44, pl. 36a; Vermeule 1966, 13, no 1; Prag 1985, 6-8, 135-136, B2, pl. 5b-c; Gais 1981, 376-377, no 36; Knoepfler 1993, 33-34, fig. 18; Shapiro 1994, 136, fig. 95.

15 Olympia Mus. B1654: Schefold 1964, 88, fig. 44; Vermeule 1966, 13, no 4, pl. 7, fig. 20a; Prag 1985, 2-3, 134, A3, pl. 2a; Knoepfler 1993, 30-31, fig. 13; Touchefeu 1981, 271, no 92, pl. 202; Shapiro 1994, 127, fig. 88. See also the same composition in Aegina 240. Inv. no I. 61: Vermeule 1966, 13, no 4a, pl. 7, fig. 20b; Prag 1985, 2-3, 134-135, A4, pl. 2b-c.

16 Vermeule 1966, 13-14; Gais 1981, 378.

17 See also the metopes from the Heraion, Silaris (about 530 BC). *Klytaimestra*: Prag 1985, 11-13, 136-137, C7, pl. 7a; Vermeule 1966, 14, no 6; Schefold 1978, 260-261, fig. 348; Knoepfler 1993, 38, fig. 22; Boardman 1995, fig. 162, 24. *The Murder of Aigisthos by Orestes*: Schefold 1978, 260-261, fig. 349; Prag 1985, 11-13, 137, C8, pl. 7b; Vermeule 1966, 14, no 7; Gais 1981, 374, no 20; Knoepfler 1993, 37, fig. 20; Boardman 1995, fig. 162, 25. *Orestes and Erinyes* (?): Schefold 1978, 261, fig. 350; Prag 1985, 44-45, 143-144, E1, pl. 28b; Vermeule 1966, 14, no 8; Knoepfler 1993, 38, fig. 23; Boardman 1995, fig. 162, 26.

18 In Athenian vase-painting there is another piece which depicts the murder of sitting Aigisthos: Prag 1985, 13-15, no C10. The piece, however, is badly damaged and hence not shown here. A similar example C9 in the Ashmolean Museum seems to depict either Theseus or Herakles.

19 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3725: *ARV*^{2} 204, 109; *CVA* Wien 2 pls. 68-69; Vermeule 1966, 14, no 9, pl. 6, fig. 12; Prag 1985, 138, C11, pl. 9c-d; Gais 1981, 372, no 6, pl. 287; Knoepfler 1993, 42, pls. 2-3; Schefold 1978, 262, figs. 351-352.

20 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1977, 713: Prag 1985, 138, C12, pl. 10a; Gais 1981, 372, no 6a, ill. on 373; Knoepfler 1993, 42-45, fig. 26.

21 Zürich, Arch. Sammlung der Universität 3451: *ARV*^{2} 291, 19; Vermeule 1966, 16, no 16, pl. 7, fig. 15; Prag 1985, 138-139, C13, pl. 10b-c; Gais 1981, 373, no 9, pl. 287; Knoepfler 1993, 48, pl. 4.

22 Vatican, Astarita 530: *ARV*^{2} 291, 20; Vermeule 1966, 16, no 17; Prag 1985, 139, C14, pl. 10d; Gais 1981, 375, no 24.

23 Once in Higgins Collection: *ARV*^{2} 587.64; Vermeule 1966, 15, no 11, pl. 6, fig. 10; Prag 1985, 139, C15, pl. 11a; Gais 1981, 373-374, no 7.

24 Once in Berlin. Berlin F2148 (old 1007): *ARV*^{2} 257.6,

1640; Vermeule 1966, 15, no 13, pl. 6, fig. 13; Prag 1985, 140, C18, pl. 12a-b; Gais 1981, 373, no 11, pl. 288; Knoepfler 1993, 45, fig. 28; Simon 1985, 72, pl. 66. Simon 1985, 73 assumes the Copenhagen-Painter is the self-same Aigisthos-Painter.

[25] Bologna, Museo Civico 230 (C. 81): *ARV*² 504. 8; *CVA* vol. 1, pl. 3. 1. c 37-38; Vermeule 1966, 16, no 15, pl. 6, fig. 14; Prag 1985, 140, C19, pl. 12c-d; Gais 1981, 373, no 12, pl. 288.

[26] J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 88 AE 66 (Attic red-figure *Calyx Krater*, Terracotta, H: 58.2 cm, Diam. mouth: 61.1 cm, 22 15/16 x 24 1/4 in.): Simon 1985, 72-74, pls. 67-68; Prag 1985, 106-107, pl. 46a-d; Knoepfler 1993, 45-48, figs. 29-31.

[27] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.1246 (by the Dokimasia Painter, *calyx krater*, about 470-465 BC, place of manufacture: Athens, ceramic, red figure, H. 51 cm, 20 1/16 in., diam. 51 cm, 20 1/16 in., William Francis Warden Fund): *ARV*² 1652; Vermeule 1966, passim, no 18, pls. 1-4; Pemberton 1966; Dyer 1967; Prag 1985, 141, C21, pls. 15-16a; Gais 1981, 373, no 10, pl. 287; Knoepfler 1993, 53-55, figs. 35-36, pls. 7-8; Simon 1985, 72-74, pl. 69; Schefold 1989, 300-301, fig. 258; McNiven 2000, 92-93, fig. 3.9.

[28] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 91.227a, 91.226b (by the Berlin Painter, *stamnos*, about 470-465 BC, place of manufacture: Athens, ceramic, red figure, 35.5 cm, 14 in., anonymous gift): *ARV*² 208.151, 1652; Vermeule 1966, 16, no 19, pl. 8, fig. 17; Prag 1985, 141-142, C22, pls. 16b-18; Gais 1981, 373-374, no 13, pl. 288; Knoepfler 1993, 45, fig. 27.

[29] Basle, H.A. Cahn, 42: *ARV*² 1648.6 bis; Vermeule 1966, 15, no 12, pl. 5, fig. 11; Prag 1985, 142, C23, pl. 19a; Gais 1981, 373, no 8, pl. 287; Knoepfler 1993, 48, pl. 5.

[30] Louvre C11139: *ARV*² 257.7; Vermeule 1966, 16, no 14; Prag 1985, 142-143, C24, pl. 20a-b; Gais 1981, 375, no 25.

[31] Hdt. 6.109; Ath. 15.695, 10-13. See Prag 1985, 102-105; Geyer 1993, 447-448. About the dating of the Tyrannicides see also Hölscher 1973, 85-87.

[32] Osada 2002; Osada 2006.

[33] McNiven 2000, 96-97.

[34] Vermeule 1966, 20; Prag 1985, 93-94; Griffith 1967; Knoepfler 1993, 45. See also Snyder 1976; Gais 1981, 379.

[35] Hom. *Il*. 3.54-55; Eur. Fr. 185. See Dover 1978, 73-75; Griffith 1967.

[36] Prag 1985, 6, 92.

[37] Funke 2001, 12-13.

[38] See also Macleod 1982, 126-127.

[39] Oakley 1995, passim.

[40] Thuc. 2.45.

[41] Vermeule 1966, 16 and Prag 1985, 19-20 both point out the similarities between e.g. nos 6, 7 and 9 and observe that they go back to the same prototype, the model of no 1. They assume that all twelve pieces were compositionally derived from the one mural painting. Though there were certainly two wall-paintings of the murder of Aigisthos according to the literary tradition, the relationship between them and the vase-paintings is not clear. One wall-painting was surely Hellenistic (Gais 1981, 375, n. 26). The other, in the Propylaia of Athens, showed iconography different to that of the vase-paintings. In this mural painting the slayer of Aigisthos was not Orestes but his friend Pylades: Paus. 1.22.6; Gais 1981, 374, no 14. Vermeule 1966, 15-16 and Prag 1985, 97-98.

[42] Hdt. 6.109. See n. 31.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 73-97. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033099.

Religious Citizenship in Classical Athens
Men and Women in Religious Representations on Athenian Vase-painting

Olaf Borgers

Summary

In the first half of the 5th century, the number of representations of religious activities on Attic painted pottery increases significantly, not only in absolute numbers, but also in proportion to overall developments in this material. Taking the importance of religious participation in the concept of Athenian citizenship for a starting point, systematic analysis of women's and men's roles in these vase scenes reveals interesting patterns. Women and men perform identical roles in the main categories of animal sacrifice, libation, procession, and offerings at an altar, but the degree of participation of each sex in different types of activity is quite different. Conventional means of explaining various types of representation, such as the distinction between public and private occasions, turn out to be contradicted by the evidence, as do prevalent views on women's (non-)participation in specific types of sacrifice. The analysis includes issues of provenance, chronology and the influence of individual painters and workshops.

INTRODUCTION

The commonly held notion that being a citizen in Classical Athens must equal having the right to participate in the democracy, has recently come under scrutiny.* This is based on the following argument: participation in religious activities, in all their forms, be it official processions and sacrifices, or more private rituals, must have played an equal - if not more important - role in defining oneself as an Athenian, and as a citizen.[1] The role of Athenian women as 'political citizens' may have been negligible, but if the idea that 'religious citizenship' had much greater importance in Classical Athens is valid, this should also mean that the importance of women as Athenian citizens should be redefined.

Notwithstanding opinions to the contrary, historical evidence suggests that women (and girls) were highly involved in many aspects of Athenian religion.[2] This could be as participants at large official festivals and rituals, as priestesses (such as the priestess for Athena, Athens' most important deity), as bearers of the kanoun etc., at more private occasions, or involved in women-only festivals, such as the Thesmophoria. This suggests that, in these activities, they were not, by definition, regarded as less important than male participants. Moreover, as political citizenship became more important in the course of the 5th century BC, it is conceivable that this parallel 'form' of citizenship, based on religious elements, was also growing in importance.

In addition to historical evidence, there is another way of establishing the roles and importance of women in religious activities, consisting of pictorial information. Several recent publications show that there is a large, and highly diverse, amount of Athenian religious images.[3] Various questions arise with such an investigation. Which roles and functions do men and women, who can, with some degree of probability, be identified as Athenian citizens, perform on images depicting religious activities? How often do men and women appear in such scenes, compared to each other, and are there differences in types of rituals in which they might appear more or less frequently? Further questions concern chronological aspects; for example, do such scenes appear more or less frequently in the Classical period, compared to the Archaic period?

The pictorial material used for this investigation consists primarily of representations on Attic painted pottery. There are several reasons for this choice. In the first place, Attic painted pottery provides an abundance of material, of which a significantly numbered sample of religious scenes can be expected. Secondly, it is an iconographically coherent group that can, with some ease, be mutually compared, but which at the same time is also very varied, thus ensuring a large enough variation in representations of aspects of religious

life. In the third place, much secondary information is usually available on Attic painted pottery: such as attributions to painters, generally rather detailed datings, provenances, and knowledge about conventions of how vase-painters depicted pictorial elements. Furthermore, there is a high degree of internal coherence in the depictions, both in the sense of iconographic traditions and pictorial conventions. This makes comparing and classifying the individual representations and separate categories much easier. In the last place, the material is generally quite easily accessible, in 'physical form', through the Corpus Vasorum, monographs, the Beazley Archive Database and such, and also in more interpretative aspects.

ICONOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES

It is somewhat difficult to establish a clear demarcation between scenes assumed to be religious and non-religious scenes on Attic vases. All representations depicting deities (including the mythological ones), and all scenes depicting elements of cultic practices can be incorporated in the category 'religious representations'. However, the inclusion of all such scenes is impractical because of the sheer number of representations involved, and because the scope of this investigation is primarily to establish the participation, particular roles and functions, and status of mortal men and women in relation to each other, as represented in religious activities on Attic pottery. Therefore the sources of pictorial information can be considerably narrowed. The primary criteria for representations included here are: whether apparently mortal men and women are involved, and if clear religious attributes such as altars, temples, kana, sacrificial gifts and animals, the presence of priests etc. are visible. A further criterion is whether people seem involved in activities that appear to be intended as religious activities, such as processions. This excludes several categories of representations that are more or less religious in content.

For example, in their discussions of sacrificial images, Van Straten and Gebauer also incorporate representations in which mythological and sacrificial elements are combined. Their categories include examples such as Herakles killing Busiris over an altar, the sacrifice of Iphigenia or Achilles killing Troilos at an altar.[4] These types of scenes may be relevant for investigations into religious or sacrificial activities in general. However, they have very little relevance in relation to everyday ritual practices as performed by mortal men and women in Athens, and are therefore not included here.

Another, related, problematic group consists of scenes in which a deity is actively involved in ritual practices, which are - apparently - also attended by mortal men and women. Examples are the numerous vases on which a Nike is participating in animal sacrifices or libations.[5] The context of the presence of this deity is somewhat unclear. It is possible that she is an indicative symbolic emblem of the occasion for which the ritual takes places (for example a victory in sports or war). On the other hand, she might be intended as actually participating in the ritual. It may be the case that the latter is more likely, as in many cases the depicted Nike is highly involved in the activities displayed in such scenes. On Oxford 1924.3 by the Pan Painter, for example, a Nike is depicted at an altar pouring from an oinochoe into a phiale held by a man standing on the opposite side of the altar.[6] This would mean that such scenes might be rather intended to express mythology than elements of daily life. A further complication is formed by the fact that in most cases the other participants in such scenes can, through lack of attributes, not be identified as either gods or mortals. Oxford 1924.3 exemplifies this: the man pouring a libation opposite Nike could equally well be a mortal (priest?) or a god. In any case, because of the inherent uncertainties, such scenes will not be included here. Naturally, this has as a consequence that the many representations of Nikai performing ritual tasks on their own, such as libations, are likewise excluded.

Similar considerations concern those representations that appear to reflect religious practices in which only one gender is by definition allowed to participate. The group of so-called 'Lenaia'-vases forms a clear example. In most cases they depict groups of women dancing, or standing around an image of Dionysos. These scenes are associated of old either with the Lenaia or the Anthesteria.[7] But whichever of the two (or a combination of both) is intended as the source of these scenes, it is clear that they reflect a women-only festival. Such scenes are of importance because they show women's active role in certain ritual activities. It is also clear that they show that women were involved in cults for deities that were not exclusively associated with women (such as Demeter and the Thesmophoria), as Dionysos is a god for men and women alike. Furthermore, it is clear from the surviving number of such scenes on Attic vases, that Athenians apparently found them of such interest that they wanted to see them depicted in large numbers. Therefore it was probably not a marginal ritual, but appar-

ently an important festival, important enough for Athenians to see it depicted many times.[8] As a women-only festival, however, the Lenaia as depicted on these vases are rather useless with regard to the scope of this investigation, as, by definition, they cannot shed light on the relative relationships, equality and roles of men and women in religious activities. Therefore these types of scenes are also excluded, because the main objective is to collect representations of rituals in which both men and women might - at least in principle - have been involved.

Another problem is formed by the difficulty to separate mythological maenads and 'real' women dressed as maenads on vase-paintings. On some of the Lenaia vases, among other religious scenes, the women are dressed as maenads, carrying thyrsoi.[9] On many others, these attributes are lacking. Furthermore, satyrs are also present on several of such vases. The question is whether these are meant to represent actual satyrs and maenads. If that is the case, such scenes should rather be interpreted as mythological in content than as representations of 'everyday' ritual activities. There are, however, also indications that at least in some examples the latter is the case. For example, Athens NM 498 by the Theseus Painter depicts a Lenaia-like scene, but with a male figure who is clearly dressed-up as a satyr.[10] This indicates that even satyrs depicted in religious scenes are not always meant to be 'real' ones.

Other scenes with possible maenads, such as the scenes depicting women with thyrsoi at an altar by, for example, the Painter of the Half-palmettes, do not differ significantly from the numerous libations by women without maenad-attributes by that painter, and it may be reasonable to suppose that they may represent women dressed as maenads rather than mythological ones.[11] They have therefore, despite some doubts, been included in the discussion on libations.[12]

Religious scenes without human participants have also been excluded. Examples of this category are the vases by the Gela Painter and the Painter of the Half-palmettes, on which bulls are standing ready for sacrifice on or around an altar without human attendants.[13]

Despite this rather rigorous selection, several categories of representations with 'real' men and women involved in religious practices remain. Generally, the characterisation of each of these categories is well-defined. Each category does have some exceptions and deviations that are important in principle, but there are usually too few to undermine the category to which they belong.

REPRESENTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The number of vases that depict mortal men and women performing religious activities collected here is slightly over a thousand pieces. This may not represent the total body of works with such scenes, but it is a more than significant sample. The main categories presented here are:

1. sacrificial processions, covering representations of processions in which, for example, sacrificial animals, a kanephoros, or an altar are included. Processions in which attributes showing the occasion of the procession have not been preserved or simply are lacking are also included in this section;
2. libations;
3. animal sacrifices, including the preparation and slaughter of the animal, and the actual sacrifice of the animal or animal parts;
4. scenes in which libations are accompanied by elements referring to animal sacrifices, for example, libations with kanephoroi, or with people carrying spits;
5. a further large group consists of altars surrounded by people who are not engaged in any obvious ritual activities. On these scenes, male and female figures are generally just standing or seated around the altar, wearing or using attributes not unquestionably associated with ritual practices, such as musical instruments, sports equipment etc. Sometimes they carry attributes like wreaths and such, which might indicate that the depicted scene hints at some festive occasion or activity. They are, however, never as clearly ritual in context as, for example, libations. There are also some smaller and less clear categories: rather uncertain cultic occupations, often consisting of only one or a few examples, or scenes in which it is not clear if they actually refer to religious activities.

Fig. 1 shows the quantities of all categories. It is immediately clear that three groups are larger compared to the others: vases depicting libations (group 2) number 200 pieces (and 58 additional representations with elements of both libations and sacrifices, group 4, *figs. 4 and 6*). Group 5 with 'non-specific' representations (*fig. 7*), that is, those vases depicting uncertain activities such as a man and women standing at or around an altar, even numbers 365 pieces. Representations of sacrificial processions (group 1, *fig. 3*) are also quite numerous: numbering to 252 pieces (including 74 uncertain procession-like representations). Slightly less numerous, but still substantial are vases repre-

senting animal sacrifices, with 100 pieces (group 3, *fig. 5* including 18 uncertain sacrifices).

1.1. Sacrificial processions (fig. 3)

The basic set-up of many vase-paintings with sacrificial processions is generally rather simple. The worshippers form the main component, all standing or walking in one direction and carrying (depending on the elaborates of the representation) sacrificial gifts consisting of twigs, baskets, boxes, amphoras and similar requisites. Other attributes are musical instruments, incense-burners and, of course, in many cases a kanoun. Furthermore, there is often an important role for the sacrificial animals: generally bulls, sheep and pigs.

Frequently the ultimate goal of a sacrificial procession is also represented. This can simply be an altar or a Herm, or some architectonic elements, ranging from merely a column to more elaborate architectonic structures, probably representing a temple. In several instances the deity to whom the procession is dedicated is also present. The deity is usually depicted in the direct vicinity of the altar or temple-structure.[14] Of all the Olympian gods, Athena is the most frequently depicted deity on these vases, but there are also gods and goddesses, such as Apollo, or not clearly identifiable deities.[15]

However, sacrificial processions also constitute the iconographically most complex category presented here, both in the presentation of combinations of pictorial elements, as in the difficulties of formulating criteria to distinguish representations in this category from those in others.[16] The question whether a vase-picture can be incorporated into this category, depends on various iconographic elements. Clearly, scenes depicting processions leading sacrificial animals are the primary sources for this category. Although the core-group of such representations of sacrificial processions is an iconographically rather uniform group, there are some borderline cases, of which it is not quite certain that they should be counted to this group, as they also incorporate elements that appear to reflect subsequent stages of a ritual. An example is the *archesthai*, the washing of the hands before sacrifice. These scenes clearly depict a moment in which the actual procession is finished, and the preparations for the sacrifice have started. On the other hand, as the washing does not represent a stage in the actual sacrifice, and the group of vases with this theme is too small to justify a separate category, it may better be included here.[17] A similar argument applies to representations of

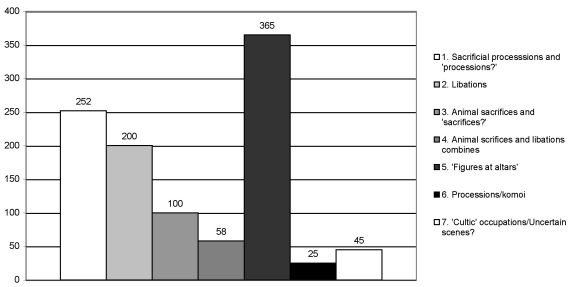

Fig. 1. Categories and numbers of vases.

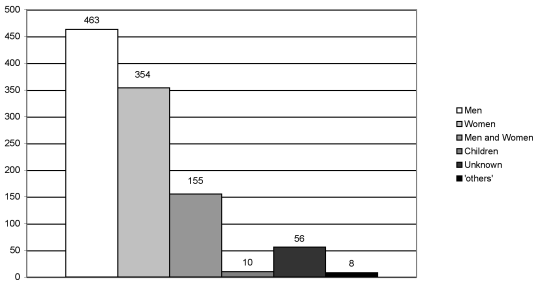

Fig. 2. Gender/group: totals.

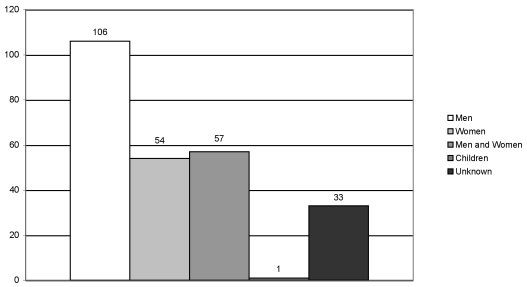

Fig. 3. Sacrificial processions and 'processions?': gender.

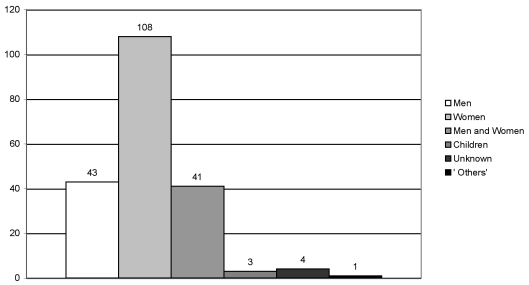

Fig. 4. Libations: gender.

people (mostly women) decorating animals (for example, with stemmata) likewise a preparatory stage for sacrifices.[18]

In some scenes it is not completely clear whether such scenes represent processions or should be considered as preparations for the actual sacrifice. On Tübingen 34.5738 by the Gela Painter, for example, two men and two bulls are standing to

the left and right of an altar.[19] There are no other elements that usually accompany a procession, such as the kanephoros, priests, musicians or other attendants. On the other hand, there are also no indications that the actual sacrifice of the animals has started. There is, for example, no indication that the men are carrying knives. A vase once in the Roman market, shows Athena seated holding a phiale, a woman in front of an altar and a bovine inside a building (temple), apparently a post-procession scene, as the sacrificial animal has arrived at the temple.[20] On the other hand, nobody in this scene shows any intention to actually sacrifice the animal.

Gebauer formulates a primary characteristic to distinguish between processions and sacrifices: a procession becomes a sacrifice at the very moment the threshold of the sanctuary is crossed.[21] There is, however, a problem with this implied boundary. In most cases, on vase-representations, it is visually impossible to distinguish whether the procession has crossed the border of a sanctuary, and thus the actual sacrifice has started. In general, this distinction is rather made clear by attributes and the placement of the participating figures and animals. Processions depict rows of people and animals, all directed towards a common goal, and appearing to be walking, whereas in scenes that seem to depict sacrifices the animals are standing at the altar, surrounded by the participants, and the sacrificial knives are visible.

It is difficult to establish what is the exact function of the presence of gods and goddesses in these scenes. They might be considered as being 'truly' present at, and actually participating in the depicted activities, similar to the aforementioned Nikai depicted in many libation-scenes. Alternately, as the role and way of depicting these deities is generally rather separated from the main act on scenes such as processions, it is equally possible that the represented deities should be seen as nothing more than a symbolic indication or emblem for the reason of the depicted procession. It might be equally possible that the depicted gods and goddesses are simply representations of cult-statues, which must have surely been the destination of many of such processions 'in real life'. There are several reasons to suppose that the latter two options (symbols or statues) might be more valid than the first one (actual present gods). As has been mentioned above, the god or goddess is generally depicted as rather separate from the main acts. He or she is often pictured in the corner of the direction to which the procession is moving, whereas in mythological

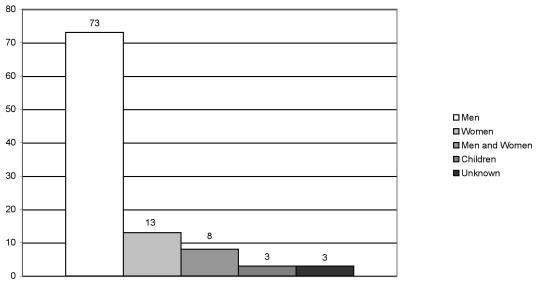

Fig. 5. Animal sacrifice and 'sacrifice?': gender.

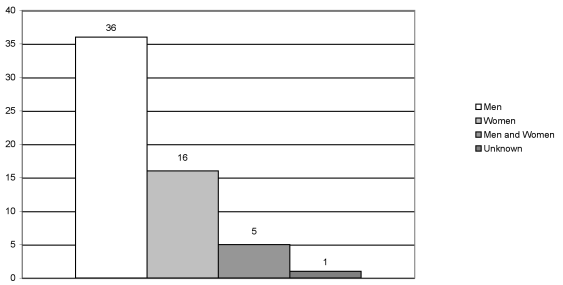

Fig. 6. Animal sacrifice/libation combined: gender.

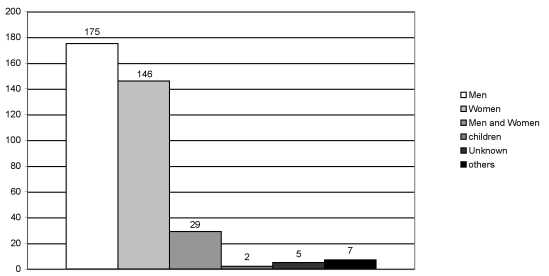

Fig. 7. Figures at altars: gender.

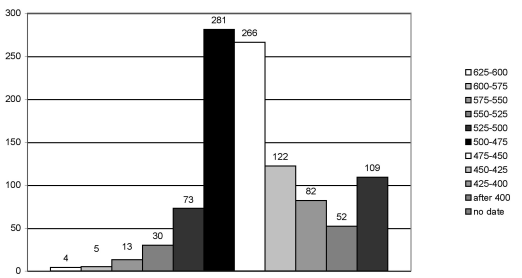

Fig. 8. Dates in periods of 25 years.

scenes deities mostly participate in the action, and are placed more centrally in the scene. Deities in these types of scenes, moreover, are in most cases directly linked to a sacred object, a temple or an altar, similarly to what would be supposed to be the placement of, for example, a cult-statue. Finally, in the case of Athena, the deity most often represented in scenes of sacrificial processions, the

goddess is always depicted in two fixed iconographic schemes: one striding with raised spear in the manner of the Athena Promachos, and the other seated.[22]

Gebauer makes a distinction between the Archaic and Classical periods concerning the presence of deities in religious images.[23] In the Archaic period, images of deities in vase-pictures (generally Athena) are to be considered as either statues or epiphanies of the respective god, but actually there appears to be no clear pictorial difference in order to distinguish between the two.[24] In the Classical period, however, according to Gebauer, there is a difference between deities who are actually present, and cult-statues of gods on vase-paintings.[25] Both groups should be distinguished as such through size, style, and position in the representation. Gebauer mentions eight vases on which Apollo must be identified as being present in persona.[26] However, looking at these vases, in most cases there does not appear to be a significant difference in appearance of the deity compared to scenes from the archaic period of, for example, Athena. On seven of the eight vases mentioned by Gebauer, Apollo is seated or standing below an architectonic structure, symbolising a temple, or near an altar, very similar parallels of which can also be found in older representations picturing Athena, for which such a visual distinction between an actually present god and a cult-statue of a god is not obvious. On only one of the vases mentioned by Gebauer, Apollo is participating in the ritual, pouring a libation, and therefore might be interpreted as being present.[27] Nevertheless, in one aspect there is a difference, because there appears to be a shift from Athena to Apollo as the preferred deity in these kinds of scenes in the Classical period.

Another point of uncertainty is created by the fact that, in some instances, pictorial elements of sacrificial processions and komoi resemble each other strongly, thus making the separation between both in some instances rather difficult. For example, two skyphoi by the Theseus Painter seem to exemplify such confusion in distinguishing between both groups. Both depict men carrying apparent sacrificial gifts and a large amphora, as well as leading sacrificial animals and have generally been accepted as sacrificial processions. According to Gebauer, however, they rather constitute a composite of elements that distinguishes them from more strict procession-scenes.[28] The musicians and 'object-carriers' on these two skyphoi for example, are naked, and thus remind Gebauer rather of komoi than of processions. On the other hand, the way in which the bovine and the stag are handled are, according to Gebauer, more reminiscent of scenes in which Herakles and Theseus handle bovines and a stag. Thus, although elements of processions are traceable in such scenes, it might as well be that they were meant to signify something completely different.

1.2. Representations of men and women in procession scenes

As to the presence, functions, etc. of men and women in sacrificial processions, there is no great difference between both groups. Both men and women participate in sacrificial processions in large numbers in vase-paintings (although men appear more frequently, see *fig. 3*). The largest group consists of men-only processions, but women-only and 'mixed' processions also appear in relative abundance.

Both men and women can be seen carrying sacrificial objects like baskets, boxes, incense-burners, wreaths, sprigs, musical instruments or the kanoun. There are also examples of both men and women leading the sacrificial animals. Men and women also often perform the function of priest leading or awaiting the procession. As may be expected, in representations that can be associated with Athena, the priest most often seems to be a woman.[29]

However, it is not always exactly certain whether a person in a religious scene must be considered a priest. On the Niarchos cup,[30] the priestess is probably the figure located between the figure of Athena and the altar, shaking hands with the man leading the procession. However, he could also be a priest. Compare, for example, the female figure dressed in heavily patterned robes, wearing sprigs (just as the man in front on the Niarchos cup), leading a sacrificial procession towards an altar and Athena on Berlin F 1686, who also seems to be a priestess.[31] Although there are examples of priests who are immediately recognisable by their elaborately decorated robes,[32] they are often not dressed differently from the other participants. This is also the case with the priestess on the Niarchos cup. She is primarily identifiable as priestess by her position, namely in front of the goddess, behind the altar, and awaiting the oncoming procession.[33] However, this position does not always appear to be indicative. See, for example, the auloi-player on New York 53.11.1, who stands in a similar position: behind the altar, in front of which are Athena and a female worshipper with sacrificial gifts.[34] Here, the auloi-player can cer-

tainly not be meant to represent a priest.

There are some differences in the representation of men and women on scenes of sacrificial processions. Men generally carry heavier objects like amphorae.[35] Furthermore, men (and youths) are sometimes depicted nude (or almost, only wearing a loincloth) in processions,[36] whereas this never applies to women. These differences, however, do not seem to be indicative of differences in functions or a gender-based hierarchy during the execution of a procession.

The slight discrepancies seen when functions with men-only, women-only and 'mixed' processions are compared are much more fundamental. In 'mixed' processions, men lead the sacrificial animals more often. On the other hand, women (or girls) should, as stated by M. Dillon, always carry the kanoun. Boys carrying a kanoun are only to be seen in men-only processions, which, according to Dillon, should then be interpreted as private affairs.[37] In fact, however, there is at least one example of an apparently 'mixed' representation on which a man/boy is performing the function of kanephoros: Oxford 536 on which a woman with phiale, and a youth with a kanoun are depicted.[38] The scene is not strictly a procession, but rather a sacrifice, as the youth is also holding a spit with splanchna, clearly indicating that it is a 'post-sacrificial' scene. Still, it is also a clear indication that presumed boundaries in religious functions between men and women are not always as strict as supposed, at least as perceived by vase-painters. There are some other vases with possible 'mixed scenes' in which men are performing as kanoun bearers. However, these are all problematical in one way or another. The skyphos Athens NM 12531, for example, has men with sacrificial gifts and a goat, and a male kanephoros climbing stairs towards an altar with two herms on side A.[39] Side B depicts two men with a large amphora, apparently walking towards the altar on side A, and two women at a fountain house. It is a rather enigmatic scene, although there is some agreement that the vase probably represents a religious procession of some sort. Furthermore, it is not clear if side A and B are related at all.[40] On another vase, once in the London Market, it is similarly unclear if the women on side B belong to the (all male) procession on side A.[41] On Paestum T.3.3 it is not certain whether the auloi-player on B is a woman (maybe the lack of anatomical detail indicates white skin) and whether side B is related to A (the actual procession with a male kanephoros).[42]

Apart from extensive sacrificial processions, as described above, there is also a large group of apparent processions, of which the setting, and even the religious content of the scenes is often not entirely certain. They do not depict attributes that normally define representations of sacrificial processions, such as altars, temples, the presence of deities, kanephoroi and sacrificial animals, but generally consist of more simple representations of figures (mostly women) appearing to be walking in one particular direction. Many of the vases depicting such scenes are rather early, some dating to around the middle of the 6th century.[43]

In many cases, vases are decorated with much more limited scenes than the more extensive, certain processions. Such limited representations consist of only a few figures carrying attributes such as sprigs, chests, vessels or kana. In many cases such scenes do not depict sacrificial animals or a destination of the procession, either temple or altar. Notwithstanding their simple composition, these scenes are still recognisable as processions by these few attributes (as a kind of compact summary), and the way in which they solemnly stride along.

2.1. Libations

A rather numerous group of religious representations consists of libations (*fig. 4*). Despite size of this group, the literature on this type of scenes is not very extensive. This may be due to the fact that representations of libations are, generally speaking, iconographically rather uniform: a central place is given to an altar or an altar-like structure, which is surrounded by one or more people, pouring libations onto it. There are, however, also examples of libations on which even the altar is absent.

In many cases, representations of libations consist of male or female figures (both single and in groups) that pour libations within the confines of their own gender. In most instances this is done by means of a phiale and an oinochoe, but other types of vessels, such as kantharoi or drinking-cups and skyphoi are also depicted in this context. It is remarkable that whereas women are depicted carrying oinochoai, phialai, hydriai or skyphoi in the context of a libation, they never appear with kantharoi. The latter appear to be strictly male libation vessels. However, phialai and oinochoai also occur much more often in men-only scenes.

There are various combinations of representations of libations: women-only, men-only and mixed. Representations of libations only performed by women appear much more often than

those performed by men only, or mixed libations. This contrasts rather significantly with Dillon's remark that it is unusual for women to pour libations on vases, because this is normally a task reserved for men.[44] Men-only libations occur less than half as frequently as those with only women.

Almost as numerous as men-only libations are mixed libations. Generally these consist of a male with a phiale and female with an oinochoe. This seems more in line with Dillon's suggestion that in mixed-gender libations, men usually perform the actual pouring of the libation, whereas women only assist by filling the phiale from an oinochoe.[45] However, there are also exceptions to this observation, consisting of libations on which women are holding both phiale and oinochoe, and men apparently only act as bystanders.[46] A rather elaborate example, Athens Acropolis 1220, also appears to represent women in a more active role.[47] Its setting, reminiscent of sacrificial procession, appears to indicate a rather official occasion: a woman is pouring a libation onto a blazing altar, behind which Athena (in promachos-like stance) is standing. Behind the pouring woman a male and female remain, both with sprigs, as if remnants of a larger procession-like group.

Another group of vases consists of libations in honour of departing warriors (generally fully armed, departing for battle). Sometimes these warriors are depicted pouring libations on their own,[48] but usually they are accompanied by others, assisting in, or performing libations for these warriors. Frequently they are women,[49] but there are also examples where, additionally, other (often older) men are present.[50] In some instances, the warriors are dressed in Thracian or Skythian costumes. There are also some libation-like scenes representing children, certainly meant as representations of the Choes-festival. Additional iconographic elements, such as indications of rituals taking place in- or outdoors (in private or public?), are scarce or non-existent on libation-scenes.

2.2. Libations in a context

Other vases represent a more elaborate variation on the libation-theme by depicting elements of both libations and sacrifices. Usually these either consist of one person pouring a libation while holding a kanoun,[51] or one person pouring while another is holding a kanoun.[52] There are, however, also scenes with more elaborate additions: someone pouring a libation, while one or more others are holding a spit over an altar, some with an osphûs (thick hipbone connected to the tail) on top,[53] an additional kanephoros,[54] or someone holding both a kanoun and a spit.[55] In these scenes, musicians are sometimes also present. Both men and women are depicted in these types of representations as pouring libations and holding kana, although men are, as with processions, mostly depicted as kanephoros in men-only scenes, whereas in mixed scenes women are depicted in this function more frequently. In general, only men are depicted carrying spits with meat. Only one vase deviates from these basic types of representing a combined sacrifice and libation: Oxford 1911.617 depicts a rather standardised men-only libation and sacrifice of an osphûs on an altar on side A. Side B, however, is much less clear, depicting men with various objects surrounding a low table on which a bell-krater (?) is standing, filled with coloured, rounded objects.[56] The tondo shows a comparable scene with a male holding a shallow vessel with similar objects and a man holding a writing-case. Various interpretations of this scene, and especially the coloured objects have been offered: counting of an ostracism; fruit, possibly grapes; admission of ephebes in the phrathries at the Apaturia.[57] More recent scholars, however, associate side B and the tondo with side A and thus with a sacrifice.[58] Van Straten, for example, thinks that the inside and side B of this cup have not been satisfactorily explained yet, but undoubtedly belong to A, and therefore must have a sacrificial content.[59]

From the scenes combining libations with sacrificial elements it is clear that there are some gender-based divisions: in representations where libations are combined with kana, both men and women are present. More often there are only women with kana and libation-vessels, but there are also examples of men and women together. If, however, more 'bloody' elements of sacrifices such as splanchnoptai are incorporated, the participation of women is much rarer. Although women are far more numerous in libation scenes, they appear less often than men in scenes with mixed elements of libations and animal sacrifices. The pictorial evidence seems to suggest that there appears to be some sort of gender-based division between libations and sacrifices, at least, as far as the evidence of vase-paintings is concerned. This is even more clearly visible in representations of 'pure' animal sacrifices.

3.3. Animal sacrifice

The representations of the sacrifice of animals have been analysed by, for example, Van Straten and Gebauer. These scenes can be divided into

various different phases: the killing, the subsequent butchering and dividing into various parts and the actual sacrifice. The quite numerous and iconographically varied scenes that can be associated with those phases, are to a large extent dominated by depictions of male worshippers executing these stages of the sacrifice. For sacrificial processions, there is also a difference in numbers of men and women present in such scenes, but this difference is minute compared to scenes depicting animal sacrifices.

Only a very small number of vases depict women participating in animal sacrifices. One of these depicts a woman, and a boy carrying a spit.[60] A spit is undoubtedly a sacrificial implement, but, on the other hand, the woman on this vase is not actively participating in any sacrificial activities, but is decorating a herm. Another vase depicts a woman holding torches and a goose at an altar.[61] Although it is possible that the goose might be considered as a sacrificial animal here, this is not certain.

More certain examples appear to depict women standing at an altar while an osphûs is being sacrificed. Unfortunately, two of these are rather unclear fragments. Athens Agora P 15954 depicts a robed figure (possibly to be identified as a woman) in front of an altar on which lies an osphûs, and a herm.[62] From the remains of the picture, it is not certain whether she is actually participating, or that she is a woman at all. The same problem applies to a rather small fragment with an apparently similar scene: a man and a woman standing around an altar on which again, an osphûs is visible.[63] That the right-hand figure on this fragment should indeed be identified as a woman, can only be assumed, because of the longer robe she is wearing. Only one complete vase has a depiction of a figure that can certainly be identified as a woman at an altar with osphûs.[64]

Another vase depicts a figure with a pig and basket at an altar, with a wreath and pinax suspended. Unfortunately, it is again unclear whether the human figure in this scene is male or female.[65] A further small category of vases might also be sacrificial in content. Often, however, these are either fragmentary, which makes the scene hard to identify, or the representation itself displays elements that are difficult to interpret. An example of the former is Athens Acropolis 779, which depicts a lekythos and kanoun on the ground, a base and stand of a laver, as well as human (female?) feet. It might be a scene with a sacrificial content, but this is very uncertain.[66] Another example is Athens Acropolis 752. Several (female?) figures are standing around an altar on which one of them is dropping a handful of unidentified 'pellets'.[67]

Finally there remain two rather well known representations of animal sacrifice associated with women. The lekythos Athens NM 1695 depicts a bent woman holding a kanoun and a small animal, interpreted as both a puppy and a piglet. Torches are placed in front of her.[68] The other vase is a cup by Douris, in the tondo of which a woman is depicted piercing meat on a long spit, while a large vessel (a lekanis or krater) from which a large leg is protruding, is standing in front of her.[69]

Other examples of uncertain scenes consist of several vases on which women with kana at altars are depicted, but without any other indication of the setting that might identify them as intended processions or sacrifices. Neither do they have additional indications, such as libation-like activities as mentioned above.

This scarcity of women in representations of animal sacrifices might be explained as a confirmation of M. Detienne's proposition that women were simply excluded from public (or official) rituals, especially those concerned with the eventual sacrifice of animals. There are, however, some arguments that place this view in a different perspective. In itself it is not surprising that women were excluded from the 'dirty' work of the actual butchering and dividing of the sacrificial animal, involving the handling of large bloody knives, that is, as far as public rituals are concerned. In the Thesmophoria, for example, they might have been involved in the slaughtering of animals.[70] More important is whether they were involved in the 'spirit' of the festivities, and that they were not excluded from other aspects of (public) rituals such as processions, or being involved in the function of priestess. Gebauer agrees with this view and emphasises furthermore that it is more important that women were present and took part in various stages of the festivities, such as decorating the animal before slaughter, or leading it towards the altar.[71]

Another problem concerns whether women were involved in the ultimate stage of the sacrifice: the sacrificial meal. For this problem, vase-pictures are not very helpful. For many possible scenes it is unclear whether they depict a sacrificial meal or a symposion. Gebauer, however, distinguishes a number of scenes on which knives are also visible, identifying them as possible sacrificial meals. On such scenes, if sacrificial meals at all, women do seldom appear as participants. Most sacrificial meals depicted on vases as presented by Gebauer, however, consist of mythological scenes, featuring, for example Herakles or Achilles.[72]

There is, however, a group of (so-called) 'Frauenfestvasen', generally associated with the Thesmophoria, on which women are depicted feasting, holding large vessels that can be associated with drinking. On tables large shapes are depicted, which are commonly interpreted as pieces of meat, which indicates that, as least as far as these representations go, women were not always excluded from the consumption of sacrificial meat, as postulated by Detienne.[73]

3.4. Figures at altars

A large group of vase-representations that can be associated with religious activities consists of people walking or standing around an altar. This group is slightly problematic because these scenes seldom have any religious attributes or elements other than the altar. However, because the altar takes such a prominent place in these scenes, a religious context is very likely. In some instances objects are present which might have an additional religious meaning, such as buildings or columns (indicative of temples?); baskets, which might or might not be identifiable as kana; or bukrania, but these occur only rarely. As with several libation-scenes, some of the women on vases in this group carry thyrsoi, thus indicating that they might be followers of Dionysos.

The largest category of vases within this group consists of very simple compositions of one or more figures standing around an altar. There are generally no other identifying attributes present (especially no religious ones), sometimes there are what appear to be lavers. Representations of athletes at altars are also quite numerous: usually, they generally handle sports equipment like diskoi or halteres, or equipment for body-care such as a strigil, an aryballos or a sponge. These scenes only depict males. Scenes of a domestic character (recognisable from objects such as mirrors, plemochoai and alabastra), on the other hand only feature women. Scenes with musicians, another category within this group, however, depict both women and men.

Several vases depict 'exotic' figures at altars such as blacks on the so-called Negro-alabastra and Amazons. Other than their characteristic physique and dress they differ not significantly from other scenes depicting figures at altars.

3.5. Other scenes

Several representations with men and women might refer to cultic practices. The interpretations as such, and the activities displayed are, however, not always clear. A few scenes depict both men and women at an image of Dionysos, similar to 'Lenaia'-vases, but with men included. Athens NM 498 (mentioned above) has a woman dressed as a maenad and a man dressed as a satyr dancing toward an image of Dionysos.[74] Basle BS 415 has only youths approaching an altar with the image of the god.[75] Another scene, only known from descriptions, apparently depicts 'dancing women and men at an altar of Dionysos'.[76] It is not clear if a statue or the like is present, or that the presence of the deity is merely implied. Although these scenes are similar to 'Lenaia'-vases, they must be meant to indicate something different, as 'Lenaia'-vases are supposed to reflect a ritual intended exclusively for women.

Some other scenes depict figures with kana, decorating herms.[77] Again, they appear to be religious in content, but the occasion or phase in the execution of a ritual act is not clear. The same may apply to scenes in which women are seated, surrounded by a herd of bovines.[78] Possibly the animals are intended as sacrificial victims here. Other uncertain scenes depict women in the presence of both domestic and religious attributes. For example, a libation in which also a plemochoe is depicted, or a woman putting something into a chest (domestic?) with an incense-burner and klismos next to her.[79] Possibly these are intended as scenes from private rituals. Some scenes with pyrrhic dances take place in the vicinity of an altar, possibly associating them with a ritual context.[80]

In some cases, individual scenes also appear to hint at a ritual or religious occasion, but are somewhat ambiguous, or known from very few sources. One vase, for example, represents the 'perfuming of clothes on a swing'. This scene is associated to the perfuming of clothes at the Choes-festival by Dillon.[81] Another scene depicts labour around a smelting-furnace, but also displays a youth carrying a kanoun.[82]

In another, larger, group of vases it is unclear whether the representations reflect a komos or a procession. Two vases by the Theseus Painter, Stuttgart KAS 74 and Tampa 86.52, have been mentioned earlier as, according to Gebauer, a confusing blend of komoi and procession. The interpretation of another group of vases by this painter is even more uncertain.[83] In the past, these representations have been interpreted as straightforward komoi, but Van Straten has identified these komoi as possibly related to sacrificial processions, as the participants are striding rather solemnly through the picture, carrying amphorai and making music. Furthermore, Van Straten draws atten-

tion to the goat under the handles of the skyphoi with these scenes, possibly signifying a sacrificial animal, and thus giving these scenes a sacrificial context.[84] There are also examples of vases by other painters to which this problem applies. Some scenes, for example, have musicians and people carrying vessels or baskets, not unlike normal komoi, but with an additional altar at the edge.[85]

Although the scenes presented in this paragraph are problematical, they only constitute a fraction of the vases with religious representations presented here.

COMPARISONS

1. Men and women in religious representations

Men and women appear in large numbers in rituals as depicted on vases in the database used for this study (463 times men only, 354 women and 155 times both groups combined, *fig. 2*). However it is obvious from the above-mentioned categories that there are some clear divisions in the roles they perform. The most striking difference can be found in scenes associated with animal sacrifices (*fig. 5*). On no fewer than 73 representations, only men are involved in sacrificial activities, whereas only 13 show women (of which many are uncertain), and eight show men and women combined.

The differences between men and women in processions and libations are less striking, but still very significant. Processions (*fig. 3*) show 106 vases with men only, 54 with women, and 57 with both men and women. In libations (*fig. 4*) the numbers are very much the other way round: 108 vases depict only women, 43 only men, and 41 both men and women. In those scenes where elements of libations and sacrifices are combined (*fig. 6*), however, the number of women drops again to less than half of that of men (16 to 36, and only five mixed scenes). The only category in which the presence of either men or women is very similar, is the group of unspecific 'figures at altars' (*fig. 7*), in which 175 vases depict men only, 146 only women, and 29 men and women together.

Also significant in all categories is the relatively low number of vases in which men and women perform rituals together. Expressed in percentages, less than 15% of all scenes consist of representations with both men and women. For the individual categories the numbers are respectively: 26,2% for processions; 21.4% for libations; 8,5% for animal sacrifices; 8,6% for combined libations and animal sacrifices; and 8% for 'figures at altars'.

The question is how these numbers should be interpreted. That, for example, animal sacrifices are predominantly men-only affairs is not very surprising, as these concern hard work, which is also bloody and dirty, and can be assumed to be considered unfitting for women. Furthermore, Attic vase-paintings tend to present rather summarized images, depicting as few as possible elements (depending on the type of vase, that is, various dimensions of image-space). Such images are probably not the most suitable medium to show who else might have been present at such rituals, even when only at the fringes of activities. The figures of the other categories are, however, more puzzling.

In processions, on the other hand, one would expect that at least the number of vases on which both men and women are present would be much higher, as - at least in official processions - there is, for example, a fixed role for the female kanephoros. It is true that the most extensive examples, such as the often mentioned Niarchos cup, indeed always depict both men and women in scenes with processions, but such examples are the least numerous. The suggestion by Dillon that men-only processions with male kanephoroi are to be considered as private rituals, only partly covers this problem, because it does not explain why there are relatively few 'women-only' equivalents of 'private' processions. It might be possible that such a 'female' equivalent of the all-male procession is more often embodied by more specific scenes such as the Lenaia-vases. In this context it is remarkable that there are no specific men-only rituals, comparable to the Lenaia-vases, and certainly not in the numbers in which Lenaia-vases are preserved.[86]

For libations, on the other hand, there is no clear reason why women would be so numerous in this category, compared to men. Dillon claims that it is more usual for men to pour libations, but this is clearly contradicted by the pictorial evidence. One possibility, that images of processions and sacrifices may represent public/official rituals, whereas libations represent more private ones, is not a very useful criterion, as it is rather impossible (on many representations) to distinguish objectively a public or private occasion.

2. Public and private (official and unofficial)

Making a distinction between public and private occasions on ritual representations is problematic. There do not appear to be fixed criteria on which everybody agrees that a distinction can be made. The Niarchos cup with its many participants, sacrificial animals, the presence of Athena etc., is a

generally accepted example of an official occasion. However, there are only few such distinctive examples.

Women carrying kana in representations of libations cannot, according to Gebauer, be interpreted as strictly 'official' kanephoroi, as such scenes must be seen as representations of private sacrifices (indicated by the libations?).[87] Gebauer continues by stating that libations in these scenes are generally performed by 'Opferherren'.[88] However, the scenes themselves appear to contradict this view, as there are sufficient examples in which women are performing the task. Furthermore, if an 'Opferherr' is present, this might just as well imply that the libation is not a private affair, but an official one. Acropolis 1220 (mentioned earlier) seems to confirm the idea that libations are not by definition private affairs. The presence of a more elaborate group of people, reminiscent of a procession and more importantly of Athena herself, seems to hint at a more official occasion. On the other hand Gebauer admits that it is difficult to establish, from the evidence on representations on vases alone, whether a scene is intended as an official or a private occasion.[89] Van Straten's three criteria to distinguish public and private processions (the presence of a kanephoros, musicians and a large number of participants) are dismissed by Gebauer.[90] This appears to be justified, as the number of participants is in itself a rather uncertain criterion by which to establish whether a scene is public or private (see the discussion above, concerning picture-space and number of elements in a vase-painting.) Furthermore, it seems impossible to determine exactly where the division can be drawn between public and private rituals, based on the number of attendants on a representation. Moreover, private rituals may also have been attended by larger groups (for example in large family-groups?). The proposed convention that a few participants means a private ritual, and many participants means a public one, seems rather artificial.

Another of Van Straten's criteria, the presence of a kanephoros as distinguishing element for a public ritual, also poses problems. If this is the case, men-only processions with a male kanephoros should be considered as public affairs. However, according to Dillon, such scenes are by definition always private.[91]

The third of Van Straten's identifying criteria - the presence of musicians - does not seem to be very accurate either. Of the large group with simple scenes, with figures at altars, many examples depict musicians. If, however, of all the categories presented here, there is one likely to represent private occasions, it must be these 'figures at altars' without any additional religious attributes, if only because they represent the simplest, least 'pretentious' category within the body of religious scenes, with no indications at all for a public (official) setting, such as the presence of priests and temples etc. Therefore even the presence of musicians seems to be a less than useful criterion for distinguishing a public ritual from a private one.

In conclusion, it appears that in vase-representations it is very difficult to establish whether a scene depicts a private or a public (official) ritual. All arguments for distinguishing one from the other appear to be based on rather random criteria. This certainly applies to criteria for distinguishing private occasions. On the other hand, certain scenes with many attendants, sacrificial animals, the image of a deity or a temple (such as the Niarchos cup), must certainly reflect an official occasion. A further question is, whether such a distinction is that important in this context, because, from the evidence of vase-paintings it appears at least to be clear that there are no indications that women, for example, appear more often in private rituals, and men in public/official ones.

3. Citizens and non-citizens

Another problem concerns how to distinguish citizens and non-citizens in religious scenes. In an assessment of the roles of male and female citizens in religious activities as represented on pictorial evidence, it is crucial to be able to tell whether the depicted participants are indeed meant to be citizens. This is usually very difficult.

In general, the attendants in these vase-scenes are dressed rather uniformly: some wearing mantles, some are naked, and in some instances priests and priestess are recognisable through somewhat more elaborately decorated clothing. In very few instances (primarily within the 'libation'- and 'figures at altars'-groups) there are examples of more exotically dressed participants such as Scythians or Amazons, or the black men on the so-called 'Negro-alabastra'. It might be tempting to view these as symbols for participating metics. However, this is very unlikely, as the meaning attached to, especially, Amazons and 'Negro-alabastra' is generally viewed to be very different from metics. Besides, there are only very few vases with such figures in a ritual context.

Dillon cites several instances in which metic women were involved in Athenian rituals, for example, the custom that daughters of metics car-

ried hydriai, sunshades, and possibly stools in the yearly Panathenaic procession, and that male metic youths carried skaphai.[92] Evidence for metic involvement on vase-painting in this context does not appear to be very significant. Hydriai do occur on vases with religious scenes, but in only very few cases. Of these, three are representations of single women holding hydriai at altars, not processions. The remainder consists of male hydria-carriers in processions.[93] Stools carried by women in processions do not occur on vases, with one possible, badly published, exception on which two women appear to be carrying a long bench-like stool.[94] Sunshades appear to be non-existent in religious scenes, and skaphai are virtually unrecognisable out of a significant context, as they are rather shapeless shallow bowls, easily to be confused with, for example, phialai.

This relative lack of evidence would imply that the pictorial conventions of Athenian vase-painters do not allow to make a visual distinction between Athenian citizens and metics. However, this might not be such a big problem after all, because in most cases the depicted participants were probably meant to represent citizens: in the first place because one would be expected to depict the 'core-group' of a community, rather than strangers. In the second place, because sources indicate that the first participation of non-citizens only started to occur around the middle of the 5th century BC.[95] Earlier participation of strangers might have occurred incidentally, but not in significant numbers. Therefore, it seems rather safe to suggest that most participants in religious activities on vase-paintings were generally meant to represent citizens, at least until the middle of the fifth century.

CHRONOLOGY

As is partially clear from the section above, chronology plays an important role in the analysis of religious scenes on Attic vases. Primary goals in this context are to discover when these types of scenes occur for the first time, and from which moment onwards the frequency of these scenes start to decline. Furthermore, it is important to establish whether certain types of scenes are more or less numerous in particular periods, or that that they are relatively more or less numerous compared to others in certain periods. It is also necessary to establish whether chronological data can provide evidence concerning religious representations and chronology in relation to similarities and differences between black- and red-figure vases. A further question concerns the possible differences in presence of men and women in religious scenes in different periods. All this, with the thought in mind of placing these religious scenes into an 'historic context'.

983 of the 1045 vases used here have a given date, either from general publications, painter's monographs, or dates as given in the database of the Beazley archive. Some of the remaining vases have no fixed chronological indication, but are attributed to particular painters or groups. Therefore these can be given a date, either a rough indication, or a more precise one. This leaves a considerable number of vases without any indication of date or attribution. Within this group, the majority has not been published photographically, which makes dating them impossible. Therefore they will be left out of the discussion on chronology.

An additional problem is the fact that different sources use different systems of dating vases. In general, monographs on painters give very detailed dates, sometimes in periods of only five to ten years. More general publications, however, often date vases in fixed periods of, for example, 25 years (525-500 or 500-475 etc.), or give a round figure for the date around which the vase must have been produced, such as ca 500. Some sources give even less precise dates, such as the database of the Beazley archive, dating vases in periods of 50 years (550-500, 500-450 etc.). Nevertheless, most of these can be assigned to a dating of a 25-year period. In some cases, there may be slight margins of errors, especially for vases on the threshold of two adjoining periods, but overall the dates given here are mostly accurate. The number of vases that can be assigned to 25-year periods number 936 pieces, constituting over 90% of the vases used in the database, thus giving a considerable sample.

As shown in fig. 8 it appears that there is a factual rise and subsequent decline of numbers of vases with religious representations, culminating into a peak from ca 500 onwards.

1. Chronological development in separate scenes

There are many similarities that can be seen by looking at numbers of religious representations - in the context of chronological development - compared to separate 'theme-groups' (*figs. 9-14*). Almost all separate theme-groups increase towards the periods 500-475 or 475-450 BC, culminating into large peaks in those periods, and decreasing subsequently. There are, however, also large and smaller deviations. For instance, scenes depicting combined sacrifices and libations have a peak at

500-475, but instead of decreasing afterwards, their numbers show an increase in the periods 475-450 and a even larger one at the end of the fifth century, with a gap of smaller numbers for the intermediate period. Their numbers do not decrease rapidly until after 400 (*fig. 12*). Similarly, libations also show a peak in the period 500-475 BC, but an even larger one in the subsequent period (475-425; *fig. 10*).

There are also smaller differences between theme-groups. Noticeable are, for example, differences in relative height of the highest peaks (respectively 500-475 and 475-450 BC) compared to other periods. The group of processions (*fig. 9*), for example, has a very large number of vases for the period 500-475 compared to preceding and subsequent periods, which show a more slightly in- and decrease of numbers of vases. Sacrifices, on the other hand (*fig. 11*), have a less remarkable peak at the same period compared to other periods. This group shows very few vases in the initial periods and the end, with a comparatively steady number between 525 and 400, and only a slightly larger peak at the period 500-475. For 'figures at altars' (*fig. 13*), the situation is slightly different again, as there are only few vases prior to 500, a peak at 500-450, and a very evenly spread decline after that. Only libations and scenes with combined elements of libations and sacrifices (*figs. 10 and 12*) have a significantly larger number of vases in the period 475-450, compared to 500-475. It is, however, clear that for all types of scenes presented here, there is a noticeable increase in 'popularity' from around 500 BC onwards.

There are also differences in the actual moment a religious theme appears on painted pottery for the first time. Processions are the earliest religious representations of the groups presented here, and are already present in the period 625-600. However, these earliest examples are rather non-specific representations of processions, without religious elements and activities, such as the presence of altars and the like. Therefore, as mentioned above, it is not fully clear whether they should actually be considered religious processions at all. The other theme-groups appear only from 550 onwards. It is noteworthy that all religious scenes presented here, appear in black-figure for the first time, although their zenith can be found in the red-figure period.[96]

2. Proportions of black- and red-figure

There is a problem concerning the increase of religious representations from around 500 BC. This

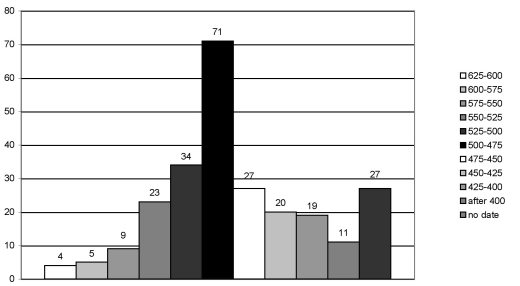

Fig. 9. Dates: sacrificial processions + 'processions'?.

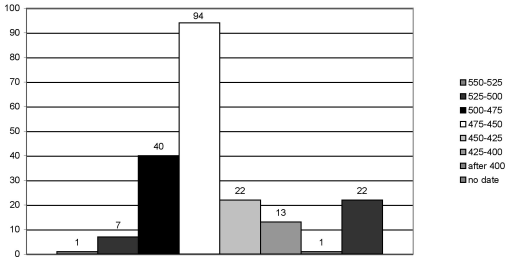

Fig. 10. Dates: libations.

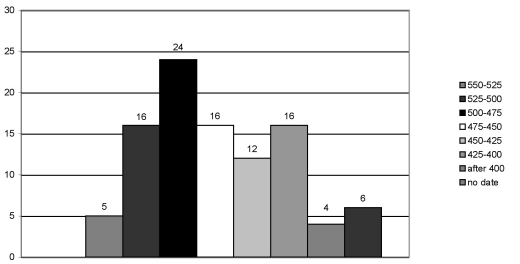

Fig. 11. Dates: animal sacrifice and 'sacrifice'?.

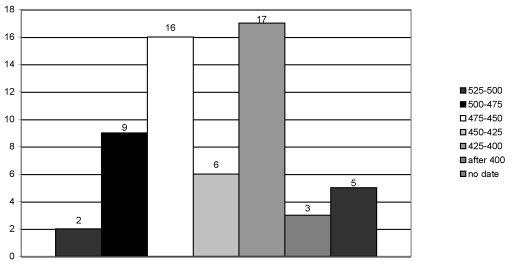

Fig. 12. Dates: sacrifice and libation combined in one scene.

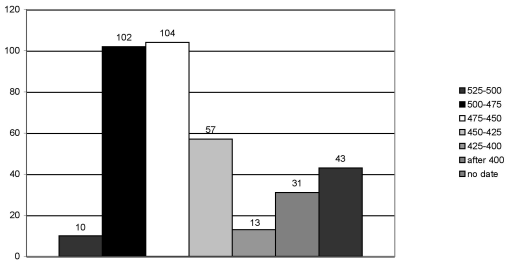

Fig. 13. Dates: figures at altars.

has to do with the balance between the numbers of black- and red-figured vases. Taking the work of J.D. Beazley as an explanatory sample, it is immediately clear that Beazley attributed far more red-figure vases than black-figure ones, as *ARV* is about twice as voluminous as *ABV*. This might be due to Beazley's self-admitted difficulty to deal adequately with the attribution of much of black-figure.[97] This might mean that he was simply not able to attribute as many black-figure vases as he did red-figure ones, which leads to this difference in numbers.

On the other hand, this difference might also be due to an actually existing difference in numbers of preserved black- and red-figure vases. If this is the case, the noted increase in religious representations on Attic painted pottery after 500 BC would be nothing more than a reflection of a general increase in numbers of painted pottery, due to the rise of red-figure, and thus this increase of religious scenes would be rather insignificant.[98]

However, several arguments can demonstrate that this increase of religious scenes from around 500 BC cannot be caused only by a possible increase of pottery as a whole, but is part of an independent phenomenon. In the first place, the differences in numbers of religious scenes in various 'phases' are too large to be solely explained by differences in numbers of black- and red-figure vases. Figure 8 shows that much more than half (547) of all religious scenes can be placed in that period. Secondly, the number of vases with religious scenes in the period 500-450 increases to more than four compared to the preceding periods. These are numbers that cannot just be explained by a general increase of red-figure pottery (after all, *ARV* is only twice as voluminous as *ABV*). In the third place, numbers of religious scenes also diminish after 500-450, even though they are exclusively red-figure, which contradicts the possibility that the increase in religious scenes is due to a general increase in vase-production through the introduction of red-figure.[99]

The most important argument, however, concerns the decline of black-figure. One would suppose that the numbers of the most recent black-figure vases with religious scenes (as a style in decay) would decline, or at most remain steady in numbers after 500. However, looking at figure 15, it is clear that the opposite is the case. Black-figure religious scenes increase to more than thrice as many in the period 500-475 compared to the preceding period, and consists of more vases than all black-figure religious scenes of previous periods combined. This can only mean that there actually appears to be an increased 'popularity' in religious scenes around 500 BC and, furthermore, it must be separated from the question of numbers of black- and red-figure vases.

In general, typical black-figure themes diminish or stay at the same level in late black-figure. Rarely, specific themes and their numbers increase at the end of black-figure. As mentioned above, there are of course large numbers of examples of late black-figure vases with 'stock'-subjects, such as the skyphoi of the CHC Group, the lekythoi of the Haimon Group etc., but these are generally rather simple repetitive scenes, often simplified versions of themes that were introduced earlier. There are of course exceptions, more 'talented' late black-figure painters such as the Gela- and Athena Painters, who are responsible for more complex scenes, or often even introduced new themes. However, these painters cannot be the only explanation of the huge increase in black-figure religious scenes at the beginning of the 5th century BC, as, just as is the case with religious scenes in general (*fig. 14*), black-figure vases only show a similar increase in individual theme-groups and variations thereof (*fig. 16*) in the period 500-475. Especially processions, which consist of the most complex compositions of all of the theme-groups (as mentioned, this is unusual for late black-figure), rise hugely in this period. This is rather unexpected, because processions as a pictorial theme are known from pottery many decades before this rise. Therefore there must be another explanation for the exceptional increase in religious scenes around and after that period.

3. Men and women

As noted earlier, men appear relatively more often on vases with religious scenes than women. However, if the separate occurrence of men and women in religious scenes is placed into a chronological sequence (*fig. 17*), again some remarkable variations are apparent. There is a slight difference in the total numbers of men and women in religious scenes on vases. However, if placed in a chronological sequence, this difference is not spread equally for all periods. The earliest representations (periods 625-600/600-575) only depict women (processions of women without additional religious attributes). After that, representations with men only or men and women together become more numerous, and both exceed the number of vases representing women only. In the subsequent periods 575-500, the number of vases with only men is roughly doubled for each period

compared to those with women ('mixed-gender' vases are slightly less than those with men in the periods 575-525 and are roughly similar to the number of vases with women only in 525-500). However, after 500, the picture changes drastically. In the period 500-475 scenes with women only are much closer in number to vases with men only (both show a drastic rise) compared to the preceding periods, and in the subsequent period women-only vases even form a majority. Scenes with both men and women together remain relatively low in quantity in these periods. After 450 the number of vases with exclusively women decrease, compared to those with men.[100]

Thus, evidence from a chronological point of view indicates strongly that the time around and after 500 BC is a crucial moment in changes in religious representations. This applies to increases in numbers as well as variation. All types of scenes discussed here show this increase (although some more than others). But it also applies to the role men and women play in these scenes, as reflected in the increase in numbers of vases on which women play a major or the only part. Furthermore, it is clear that this change is totally separated from external factors, such as the decline of black-figure or the rise of red-figure.

Based on all other combined indications in the relevant period, the increase in participation of women (in religious activities) on vases does not appear to be sheer coincidence. It might be too bold a conclusion to conclude on the basis of vase-paintings alone that this increase also implies an increase in the importance of Athenian women in the performance of rituals, and their role as Athenian citizens. However, the evidence does match very well with the historical hypothesis that religion was an important component of citizenship, and that women did play a role of significance in this aspect.

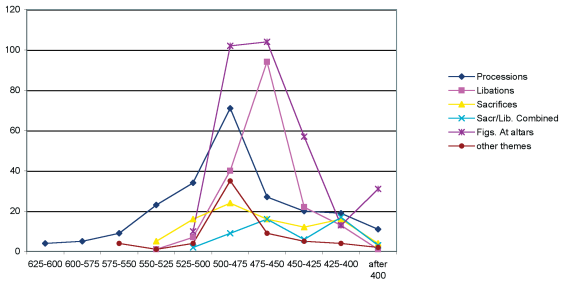

Fig. 14. Dates: various theme-groups combined.

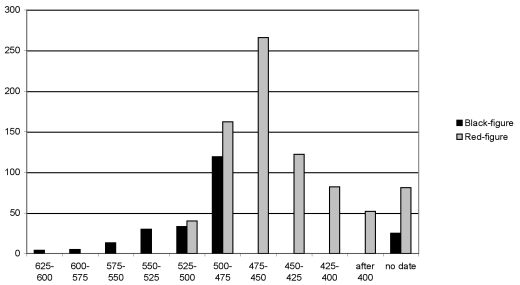

Fig. 15. Dates of respective black and red-figure religious scenes.

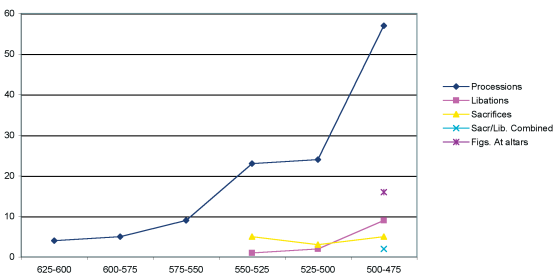

Fig. 16. Dates: various theme-groups combined, black-figure only.

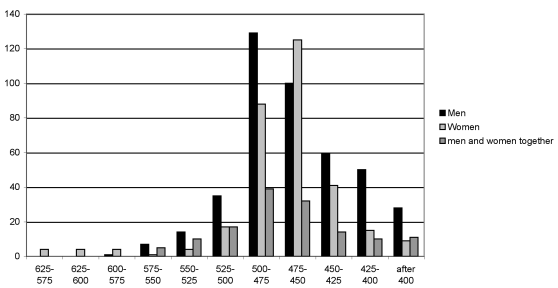

Fig. 17. Gender and chronology on vases with religious scenes.

OTHER ASPECTS: PAINTERS, SHAPES AND 'PROVENANCE'

Although this article mainly deals with the question whether information on vases may be useful in the determination of the role of men and women in religious activities in Classical Athens, there may also be circumstantial or external factors that might have been of influence on the way scenes on painted pottery looked the way they do. Three important ones are dealt with in this paragraph. 'Fashion' and taste of painters and customers (notably foreign ones) might have been of influence on the form of these representation. There may also be a strong connection between the type of shape and the actual scene that is painted on it. For some shapes, there is a strong connection between the shape and the type of representation it features. See, for example, funerary scenes in connection to loutrophoroi, white-

ground lekythoi and pinakes; symposia and komoi on cups.[101] The question is whether such connections are also to be found with regard to religious scenes.

1. Painters

Slightly more than 700 of 1045 vases have been attributed to either a painter or a group. The vast majority of these (593) is in the red-figure technique. Although the number and variety of identified black- and red-figure painters involved in depicting religious scenes is rather large (some 300 are known to depict scenes as presented here), some seem to have been more interested in these themes than others. The most 'specialised' painter among these appears to be the Aischines Painter (including vases in his manner) with no less than thirty vases. The Theseus Painter has slightly more of such representations, but this includes the above-mentioned scenes (13 pieces) which display elements that could either designate them as processions or komoi. Other painters with numerous religious representations are: the Painter of the Yale cup (21 pieces); the Pan Painter (20); the Bowdoin Painter (18);[102] the Seireniske Painter (16); the Haimon Group and the Painter of the Half-palmettes (14 each); the Brygos Painter (12); the Painter of Munich 2676 and the Niobid Painter (11); the Carlsruhe Painter, Douris, the Kleophon- and Sabouroff Painters (10 each). Out of 734 vases with an attribution in my database, no less than 242 are by this small group of painters, constituting almost a third of the total of attributed vases. Furthermore, the numerous painters with nine to seven religious scenes have not been taken into account here.[103] Therefore there certainly appears to be reason to suppose that there is specialisation in religious scenes among vase-painters.

As to the preference for possible specific themes, there are some remarkable differences between general trends and specific painters. The group of vases with non-specific figures at altars is, as mentioned, the largest (with 365 pieces); the second largest group - libations - is already considerably smaller. One would expect that this numerical superiority is also (at least partly) reflected in the vases with religious scenes by the above-mentioned painters. However, this does not always seem to be the case. Painters appear to have been specialising in some scenes rather than others. Of the 30 'religious' vases by, and in the manner of the Aischines Painter, for example, all but three represent libations, mostly with women (the exceptions are two scenes of combined libation and sacrifice and only one representation of non-specific figures at altars).[104] None of the vases by the Kleophon Painter (several processions, sacrifices and libations) and the Pan Painter (several processions, libations, animal sacrifices, combined libations and sacrifices) have any scenes with unspecified figures at altars either. On the other hand, some of the mentioned painters appear to specialise in these scenes. The Painter of the Yale cup, for example, almost exclusively depicts unspecified figures at altars,[105] and for some others (the Bowdoin-, Brygos- and Seireniske Painters, and the Painter of the Half-palmettes) these scenes make up considerably more than half of their 'religious' representations.

If one views these painters in relation to the shapes on which they paint their scenes, it is clear that most are specialists on smaller shapes. Some of the painters (and connected groups) are specialised in lekythoi (the Aischines-, Bowdoin-, and Seireniske Painters, the Haimon Group, and to a lesser extent the Carlsruhe Painter), others are cup-specialists (the Brygos Painter, Douris, the Painters of Munich 2676 and the Yale cup). Only a few are more all-round in the shapes they choose (the Painter of the half-palmettes, the Pan- and Sabouroff- Painters), and only one appears to specialise in larger shapes, the Kleophon Painter, who is known from many kraters with religious scenes. This tendency towards small shapes can also be seen in the work of painters with fewer than ten religious scenes.

2. Shapes

988 of 1045 of the religious vases discussed here have a given indication of vase-shape (*fig. 18*).[106] The predominance of small shapes, as witnessed in relation to painters, is also apparent from the

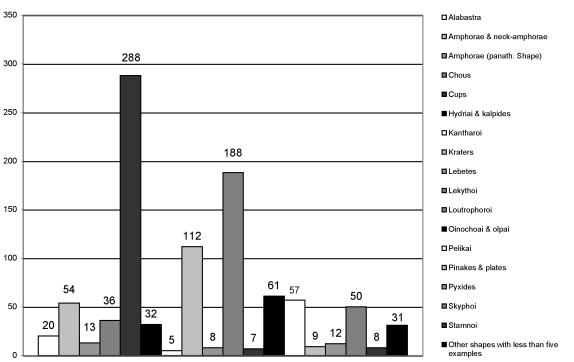

Fig. 18. Vase-shapes.

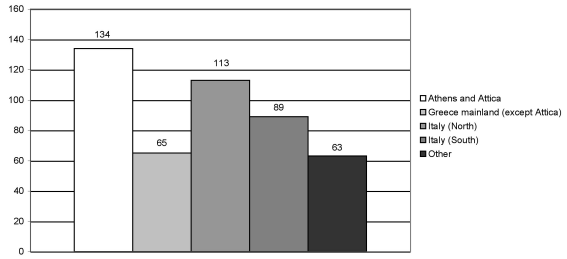

Fig. 19: Provenances.

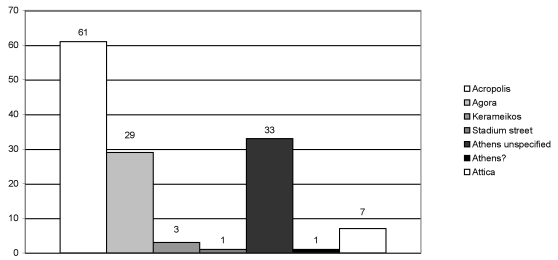

Fig. 20. Provenances, Athens and Attica.

numbers of all vase-shapes. No fewer than 288 cups and 188 lekythoi display religious scenes. Together they constitute almost half of the total number of vases. The only other group of vases, however, with a significant number is constituted by kraters, numbering 112 pieces, which is the only large shape represented with such numbers.[107]

As for the reason for this predominance of especially cups and lekythoi, it is difficult to establish what could be the reasons for this outcome. Cups and lekythoi are among the most common shapes in black- and red-figure, although the differences in numbers compared to other shapes are notably larger for religious scenes than in general. Neither of both shapes have a particular connection to ritual practices: cups are generally more associated with the symposion (although many cups are found as votives on, for example, the Acropolis), or in graves. Lekythoi have various functions, among which their use as grave-vases might be called 'religious'. The large number of kraters with religious scenes cannot be explained by a possible primary religious function of the shape either. On the other hand, it is remarkable that only a few of the shapes that do occur frequently in religious scenes, such as phialai (which occur on 178 vases with religious scenes) are represented in the shape catalogue (only one phiale is known).[108] Kantharoi are known from 19 representations, but there are only five kantharoi with religious scenes. On the other hand, notwithstanding the large numbers of lekythoi and kraters that depict religious scenes, both shapes are represented only two and seven times in religious scenes respectively. The only exception of a shape that does occur frequently in religious representations, is formed by cups, which feature 27 times in such scenes. However, it is not always clear from the scenes if indeed a cup was meant, or that it is actually a phiale. Nevertheless, it appears that there is no significant relation between shape and function of specific vase-shapes (other than typical ritual vessels, such as loutrophoroi and phialai) and their particular use in rituals.

As to the relation of shapes and the specific subject categories that occur on them, there are some notable differences. Cups feature 32 processions, 36 libations, 31 sacrifices, nine combined sacrifices/libations and no fewer than 171 unspecified figures at altars. Subjects are more evenly divided on lekythoi: 44 processions, 65 libations, seven sacrifices, 11 combined sacrifices/libations and 54 unspecified figures on altars. On kraters, processions are a relatively large group with 40 examples, compared to the other categories: seven libations, 19 sacrifices, 17 combined sacrifices/libations and only eight unspecified figures at altars.

It is difficult to establish the reason for these not insignificant differences. Especially the frequent occurrence of unspecified figures at altars on cups and processions on kraters is remarkable. These differences might be linked to the function of a specific shape, but just as well to the actual form of a shape. Kraters, for example, are larger shapes, and might therefore simply be more suitable for 'grander' scenes than either lekythoi or cups.

Furthermore, looking at the relation of shape and gender in the scenes on the representations of these shapes, there is an interesting (if perhaps not surprising) difference. If one compares the occurrence of gender of figures on the two most numerous vase-types, it is clear that males are more frequent on cups with religious scenes (197 times, whereas there are 58 cups with representations of only women, and 23 with 'mixed' scenes). On the other hand, representations of women are more numerous on lekythoi (138 times, whereas only 25 lekythoi with men only, and 16 with mixed scenes).

3. Provenances

As can be expected, most of the vases with scenes as presented here, have been found in Athens or its surroundings (*figs. 19-20*). Most of the vases from Athens itself come from the Acropolis (al-

most half of all the vases with a provenance from Athens or Attica), less than half of that amount from the Agora, and only a few from other specified sites. A significant number of vases found in Athens have no specified indication, and only a few vases come from the surrounding area of Attica.

Outside that area, significant numbers of vases have been found in mainland Greece and Italy. Surprisingly enough, most vases with such scenes are not found in southern Italy (Magna Graecia) as might be expected, but in the north: Etruria, but also other sites, including the east coast. A possible conclusion to be drawn from this, is that non-Greeks were possibly as interested in representations of Athenian religious customs as the Athenians themselves were, and more so than other mainland Greeks or Greeks from Southern Italy. This is interesting, because a possible implication might be that these images were too 'Athenian' for fellow Greeks to be acceptable or useful, whereas the non-Greeks could not read the context of the images adequately, so for them it did not matter very much. However, this is mere speculation. Other provenances of vases with these scenes are quite varied and broadly dispersed, but less numerous than the previous categories: the Greek islands, the Turkish coast, France, Russia, northern Africa etc.

As to variations in specific subject categories and gender differences in combination with provenances, some interesting differences do occur. Looking at the four largest categories of provenances of vases with these scenes: Athens/Attica, mainland Greece, northern and southern Italy in combination with various subject categories, it is apparent that in different areas, different subjects are more popular (*figs. 21-22*). In Athens, more than 50 percent of the vases with religious scenes consist of representations of processions. In mainland Greece processions are also quite popular (although not the largest category), but in Italy these scenes are found only relatively rarely.

In addition, in mainland Greece and northern Italy the simpler representations of nondescript figures at altars are much more popular (both with almost 50 percent of such scenes), and in southern Italy they are also quite numerous. In contrast, simple representations with figures at altars are not very common in Athens/Attica. The other categories are more equally divided, with one exception, the largest subject-category in southern Italy, which is constituted by libations.

At first view, a graph with a combination of provenances and differences in gender gives an

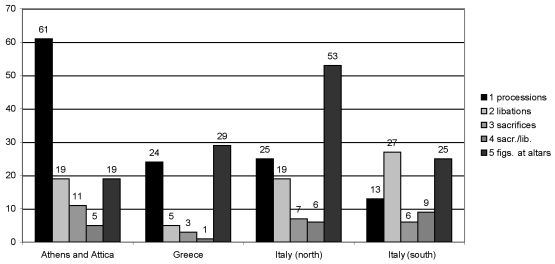

Fig. 21. Provenances and subject-categories.

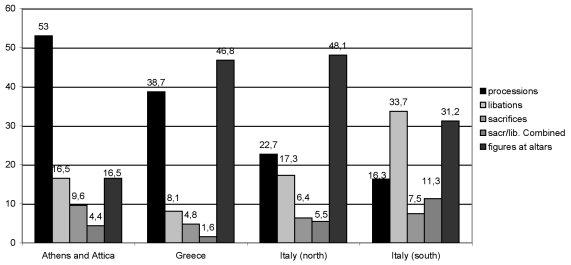

Fig. 22. Provenances and subject-categories: relative percentages.

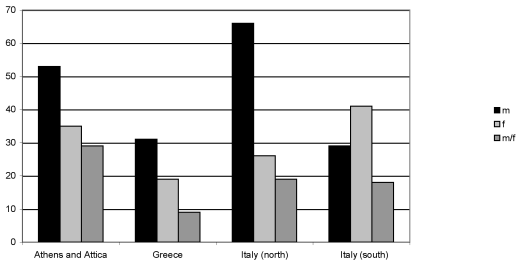

Fig. 23. Provenances and gender.

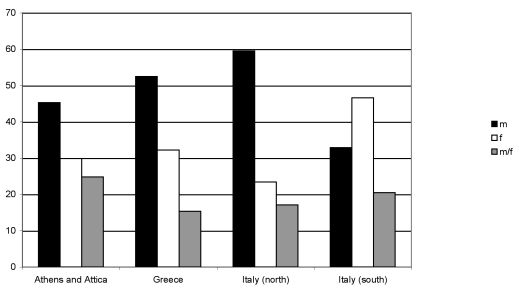

Fig. 24. Provenances and gender: relative percentages.

even more surprising outcome (*figs. 23-24*). In Athens/Attica, Greece and northern Italy the difference in numbers of representations of men, women and men/women combined is similar to that of the general number of gender groups in representations (*fig. 2*, although in northern Italy the difference is significantly larger). In southern Italy, it is the other way around: representations

with women are more numerous here. As such, this might imply that the idea of the importance of women in religious rituals was exclusively an Athenian phenomenon. However, the only subject-category in which women appear more often than men, is that of libations (*fig. 4*). Precisely this category is the most numerous one found in southern Italy. Therefore it is equally possible that the popularity of such scenes is not related to the participation of women, but is based on the fact that they represent libations.

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the evidence of painted Athenian vases, that there is a considerable increase in numbers of religious representations in which mortal men and women play a role of significance around 500. Before that period it was apparently sufficient in most cases to express religion and the importance of the gods in mythological scenes, but gradually also the interaction between mortals and gods, and the rituals that come with this interaction, were depicted more frequently. In some cases, this is in the form of extensive scenes, with a large number of participants, animals and attributes, sometimes accompanied by an image of the deity for whom the ritual takes place. More often such scenes have a more modest form, in which, for example, only the presence of an altar reveals the religious nature of the occasion.

The question is, why such a change would have taken place. The most simple answers, such as an incidental change in 'fashion' of depicting religion, or an increase in interest in depiction of practices of 'every-day' religion which was subsequently picked up by vase painters, are not very satisfactory. It is obvious that the more frequent occurrence of such scenes more or less coincides with the beginning of democracy and the connected increasing importance of citizenship in Athens. Although this is not definitive evidence in itself, it is clear that such a coincidence of historic and pictorial change might not at all be accidental, but, on the contrary, might fit very well in the hypothesis, that next to political citizenship, there was also a form of religious citizenship in classical Athens, which found a reflection in contemporary pictures.

As to the question of the roles of men and women in such scenes, again it is clear that there are some considerable changes around 500 BC. Women appear more often and more variedly in religious scenes on Attic vases from this period onwards. It is furthermore worth noting that this frequent occurrence of women can be seen on Attic vases only during the acme of the Athenian democracy. It is clear that the roles of men and women are not identical in these scenes - in sacrifices for example, women are notably underrepresented, whereas there are twice as many libations with women than with men - but they do appear increasingly. Again, this seems to fit well in the hypothesis of religious citizenship and the connected idea that women, although not active as 'political citizens', were active and acknowledged in their status as 'religious citizens'.

The idea of women as religious citizens is also connected to the assessment whether scenes of religious activities refer to public (official) or private (unofficial) occasions, as official occasions would reflect the importance of women as citizens in a religious sense more than private ones. In this aspect, the pictorial evidence is inconclusive. Likewise, it is not possible to distinguish citizens and non-citizens on the basis of appearance of clothing or function in these scenes. However, circumstantial arguments as presented above appear to indicate that participants in religious activities must in general be considered as citizens.

Uncertainties still remain, as scenes on Attic vases can never conclusively answer all questions concerning the status of women as citizens in Classical Athens. However, notwithstanding all obvious hesitations, it is clear from the pictorial evidence that the least to be said is that women were deeply involved in all kinds of ritual practices in Classical Athens, just as much as men, and thus played a role of greater importance than often has been assumed.

NOTES

* This article is part of a research project on 'Citizenship in Classical Athens', supervised by Josine H. Blok, under auspices of the Onderzoeksinstituut voor Geschiedenis en Cultuur of Utrecht University, and funded by the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

1 On this principle Connor 1988, 161-188; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 295-322; Blok 2004, in part. 21-26; Evans 2004, 1-25; Parker 2005, ch. 2; on the material evidence De Polignac 1995.

2 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 111-120; De Polignac 1995, 69-78; Parker 2005, ch. 11 and 13; Blok 2005, 7-40; on the contested role of women in sacrifice, see, for example, Detienne/Vernant 1989, 129-147. Countered by: Kron 1992, 640-43; Osborne 1993, 392-405.

3 See especially, Van Straten 1995 and Gebauer 2002. Both deal mainly with representations of sacrificial processions and animal sacrifices, and record numerous images. Also: Lehnstädt 1970.

4 Van Straten 1995, 30-31, 46-49, 340-365. See also, Gebauer 2002, 271-279, nos Sv 7a-28.

[5] The Beazley Archive database, for example, lists slightly more than 300 representations of Nikai at an altar. She is often depicted pouring a libation, and in the company of other figures.

[6] *CVA* Oxford 1, pl. 15.3-4; *ARV*² 200,45, 517; *Beazley Addenda*² 191; *BICS* 33 (1986) pl. 2b.

[7] For the various interpretations and discussions of these scenes, see: Frickenhaus 1912, 1-40; Nilsson 1916, 327-339; Wrede 1928, 66-95; Deubner, 123-134; Durand/Frontisi-Ducroux 1982, 81-108; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos, 426-427, nos 30-44, 298-300; Peirce 1986, 218; De la Genière 1987, 43-61; Frontisi-Ducroux 1987, 89-102; Halm-Tisserant 1991, 63-88; Hamilton 1992, 134-138; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991.

[8] Frontisi-Ducroux 1991 mentions 73 pieces, predominantly produced between 500-450.

[9] See Berlin F 2290 by Makron (Kunisch 1997, 197, no 345, pl. 116-117).

[10] Athens NM 498 (*CVA* 1, pl. 4.1-3; *ABL* 251,44; *Cité des Images*, 132, no 190; Malagardis, 1985, 77, n. 47; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos, no 36; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, 142, fig. 79; Van Straten 1995, V10; Moraw 1998, 282, no 166; Borgers 2003, Cat. no 80).

[11] Women at altars: Ferrara 16296 (*Para* 288; *Beazley Addenda*² 137); Ferrara 186 (*Para* 288; *Beazley Addenda*² 137); Vienna 239 (*ABL* 249,16); Paris, Cab. Med. 267 (*ABL* 248,12; *CVA* Paris, Bibl. Nat. pls. 62,11, 64,2; *ABV* 573,3; *Para* 287; Lissarrague 1997, 130, fig. 11); London 68.7-5.140 (*CVA* London 6, pl. 98,4; *Para* 287). Maenads at an altar: London 1864.10-7.1715 (*CVA* pl. 98.12; *ABL* 248.9; Lissarague, 1997, 136, no 9, 126, fig. 1; Borgers 1999, fig. 18; Borgers 2003, fig 82 b); Louvre 12688 (Fournier-Christol 1990, no 74, pls. 45, 48; Moraw 1998, pl. 8.23); Gotha 43 (*CVA* Gotha 1, pl. 41,6; *Para* 288); Ferrara 10729 (*CVA* Ferrara 2, pl. 25,1-2).

[12] Libations by satyrs are, however, excluded.

[13] Gela Painter: Thessaloniki 5323 (*Para* 216; Hemelrijk 1974, 146-147, figs 55-56; Durand 1986, 98, fig. 22; Van Straten 1995, 202, V46); Oxford 514 (*ABL* 209,84; Hemelrijk 1974, 146-147, figs. 52-54; Durand 1986, 97, fig. 21; Van Straten 1995, 200, V 37); Munich 1824 (*ABL* 214, 185; *ABV* 473; Hemelrijk 1974, 146; Simon 1983, pl. 6; *Beazley Addenda*² 119; Durand 1986, 96, fig. 20; Van Straten 1995, 199, V33, fig. 550); Berlin F 1882 (*ABL* 213,178; *CVA* 5, pl. 46, 5-7; Hemelrijk 1974, 146148, figs. 55-56; Durand 1986, 96, fig. 19; Van Straten 1995, 198, V23); Amsterdam 8196 (*ABL* 209,96; Hemelrijk 1974, 121-123, figs. 1, 2, 4, 10-14; Durand 1986, 93, fig. 18 c; Van Straten 1995, 194, no V2; see also Hemelrijk 1974. Painter of the Half-palmettes: Ferrara 184 (*CVA* 2, pl. 26.1; *Beazley Addenda*² 137; Van Straten 1995, V26; Lissarrague 1997, 137, no 46); Naples MN 2731 (*ABV* 441,5, 573,8; Van Straten 1995, 200, V34; Lissarrague 1997, 137, no 26).

[14] Seated deities and temple, for example: Louvre CA 1837 (*ABL* 252,60, pl. 43.2; Lehnstädt 1970, K66; Gebauer 2002, 86, p 42, fig. 41; Borgers 2003, Cat. No 140); London 1905.7-11.1 (*ABV* 443,3, 475,29; Lehnstädt 1970, no K58; *Beazley Addenda*² 120, 215; Van Straten 1995, 199, V31, fig. 8; Gebauer 2002, 75, p 35, fig. 34); Ferrara 2897 (*ARV*² 1052,25; Lehnstädt 1970, no K129; *Para* 442, 444; *Cité des Images*, 18-20, fig. 21a-f; *Beazley Addenda*² 322; Van Straten 1995, 247, V291); Ferrara T 57 (*ARV*² 1143,1, 1684; Lehnstädt 1970, no K136; Simon 1983, 79. Pl. 23,1; *Cité des Images*, 48, fig. 73; *Beazley Addenda*² 334; Van Straten 1995, 207, V78; Gebauer 2002, 106, p 58, figs. 57-58); Once Roman market (*ABV* 393,20, Shapiro 1989, pl. 10C; *Beazley Addenda*² 103; Van Straten 1995 V53; Gebauer 2002, 129, pv 93, fig. 83); Istanbul 2914 (*ARV*² 603,41; *Beazley Addenda*² 267; Van Straten 1995, 217, V132; Gebauer 2002, 214, A1, fig. 111). Deities in front of altar, for example: Paris Niarchos A031 (Lehnstädt 1970, no K5; Simon 1983, 63, pls. 16.2, 17.2; Shapiro 1989, pl. 9 a-b; *LIMC* II, s.v. 'Athena', no 574; *Cité des Images*, 104, fig. 152; Neils 1992, 54, fig. 33; Marangou *et al.* 1995, 86-89, no 12; Van Straten 1995, 203, V55, fig. 2); New York 53.11.1 (*ABV* 298,5; Lehnstädt 1970, no K8; *CVA* 4, pl. 13.1-4; Shapiro 1989, pl. 14B; *Beazley Addenda*² 78; Neils 1992, 25, fig. 14; Reeder *et al.* 1995, 42, fig. 7; Berlin F 1686 (*ABV* 296,4; Lehnstädt 1970, no K9; *Para* 128; Boardman 1991, fig. 135; *Cité des Images*, 106, fig. 153); Shapiro 1989, pl. 9c-d; Neils 1992, 55, fig. 34; Van Straten 1995, 197, V21, fig. 4; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 94, fig. 3.10; Gebauer 2002, 40, p 8, fig. 8; Dillon 2001, 88, fig. 3-4); Athens Acropolis 2298 (Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, no 2298, pl. 98; Lehnstädt 1970, no K49, Van Straten 1995, 197, V19; 80, p 40, fig. 39; Gebauer 2002, 80, P40, fig. 39).

[15] Apollo: for example: Agrigento 4688; Istanbul 2914 (see n. 13); Ferrara T 57 (see n. 14). Unknown deities: for example: Louvre CA 1837 (see n. 14); Ferrara 2897 (see n. 14).

[16] Gebauer 2002, 166, considers the cup in the Niarchos coll (A031) to be a kind of 'archetype' of processions on vases, because of its large number of participants, and its relatively 'complete' appearance of acts and attributes. See n. 14.

[17] Gebauer 2002, 213, mentions similar difficulties concerning the placing of *archesthai*-representations. He places them in a separate paragraph connected to *pompe*-representations.

[18] London BM E 284 (*CVA* 3, pl. 17,3; *ARV*² 1107,7; Para 452; *Beazley Addenda*² 330; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Phylai no 1, pl. 659; Van Straten 1995, 208, V87; Gebauer 2002, 148, pv 124, fig. 96); Laon 37.1044 (*CVA* 1, pl. 395; Lehnstädt 1970, no K135; Van Straten 1995, 217, V133, fig. 44; Gebauer 2002, 149, pv 126, fig. 98).

[19] *ABL* 209, 78; Lehnstädt 1970, no K56, pl. 4.1; Hemelrijk 1974, 142, figs. 44-47; *Cité des Images*, 53, fig. 79; Durand 1986, 93, fig. 18b; *CVA* 3, pl. 46.1-4; Van Straten 1995, 202, V49; Gebauer 2002, 78, p 37, fig. 36. A similar scene is visible on Athens Acropolis 2290 (*ABL* 213,168; Graef/Langlotz, 1909-1933, no 2290; Lehnstädt 1970, no K57; Van Straten 1995, V18; Gebauer 2002, 78, p. 38, fig. 37) by the same painter, however, with only one man and one bovine.

[20] *ABV* 393,20; Parke, 1977, fig. 63; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, no 580; Shapiro 1989, pl. 10C; *Beazley Addenda*² 103; Van Straten 1995 V53; De Cesare 1997, 21, fig. 1; Grabow 1998, pl. 19. K91; Gebauer 2002, 129, pv 93, fig. 83.

[21] Gebauer 2002, 24.

[22] For the presence of Athena in representations of sacrificial processions, see, Promachos: Paris Niarchos A031 (see n. 14); New York 53.11.1 (see n. 14); Berlin F 1686 (see n. 14); Athens Acropolis 2298 (see n. 14). Athena seated: London 1905.7-11.1 (see n. 14); Once Roman market (see n. 14); Athens Acropolis 806 (*ARV*² 240,42; *Para* 349; *Beazley Addenda*² 201; Robertson 1992, 124, fig. 127). Only one small fragment apparently depicts Athena participating in a procession. As far as visible, she seems to precede the procession: Athens Acropolis 1307 (Theseus Painter, Borgers 2003, Cat. No 85).

[23] Gebauer 2002, 166, 489-90.

[24] Gebauer 2002, 166: 'Ob die Göttin als anwesend in Gestalt eines Bildes oder in ihrer Epiphanie gedacht ist, ist nicht wesentlich'; 489-490: Gebauer also mentions

that it is unclear whether it 'sich um die Gottheit selbst in ihrer Epiphanie handelt. Eine Differenzierung in diesem Sinne wiederspräche allerdings auch den Sehgewonheiten dieser Zeit, denn die archaischen Kultbilder sind generell als Epiphaniedarstellungen anzusehen. Der Versuch einer definitiven Unterscheidung ist deshalb nicht Sinnvoll'.

25 Gebauer 2002, 490.

26 Gebauer 2002, 490: 106-109, P58; 214-216, A1; 217-219, A3; 224, A6a; 390-391, B29; 406-407, B43; 410-411, B48; 412-413, B50.

27 Port Sunlight 5036 (A*RV*² 1182,2; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no 952; *Beazley Addenda*² 340; Van Straten 1995, 231, V202; Gebauer 2002, 410, B 48, fig. 274).

28 Gebauer 2002, 190.

29 Although there are also examples of male priests, as on Athens Acropolis 2298 (see n. 14): a man standing between altar and Athena, similar to the priestess on the Niarchos cup.

30 Paris, Niarchios coll. A031 (see n. 14).

31 *ABV* 296,4; *Para* 128; Van Straten 1995, 197, V21, fig. 4; Gebauer 2002, 40, p. 8, fig. 8; Dillon 2001, 88, fig. 3-4.

32 For example on Berlin F 1686 (see n. 14), or the priest on Florence 151589 (*ARV*² 146,3; Van Straten 1995, 235, V224; Gebauer 2002, 300-302, 25, fig. 167).

33 Similar figures appear, for example, on Munich 1441 (*ABV* 243,44; Lehnstädt 1970, no K17; Mommsen 1975, 110, no 106, pl. 118-119; *Beazley Addenda*² 62; Van Straten 1995, 199, V32; *AntK* 38 (1995) 1, pl. 23.1-2; Gebauer 2002, 42, p. 9, fig. 9); Ferrara T 57 (see n. 14).

34 New York 53.11.1 (see n. 14). Or should this scene be viewed in a different way: worshippers approaching Athena and the altar from both sides?

35 See, for example: Tampa 86.52 (*ABV* 704,27ter; *Para* 256; Lehnstädt 1970, no K 63; Malagardis, 1985, 76, n. 41; *Beazley Addenda*² 129; Neils 1992, 40, 181, no 53; Peirce 1993, 266, fig. 7; Van Straten 1995, 201, V44; Gebauer 2002, 124, pv 91, fig. 81; Borgers 2003, Cat. No 40) only men present; Stuttgart KAS 74 (27) only men present; Acropolis 842 (*ABV* 369,119; Graef/Langlotz 1909-1933, no 842, pl. 52; Lehnstädt 1970, no K30; Valavanis 1991, 487-498, fig. 1; Van Straten 1995, 196, V16, fig. 18; Gebauer 2002, 62, p. 19, fig. 19) only men present; Frankfurt B 524 (*CVA* Frankfurt 2, pl. 58.2); Louvre Cp 10793 (*ARV*² 555,92; Agora XI, 111, pl. 65A; Lehnstädt 1970, no K102; *Para* 386; *Beazley Addenda*² 258; Gebauer 2002, 562, kv 15, fig. 346); Athens NM 12531 (*CVA* 4, pl. 28.1-4; Van Straten 1995, 195-196, V12; Gebauer 2002, 91, P45, fig. 44), however, has both men carrying amhorai, and a woman carrying a large hydria.

36 For example, Athens Acropolis 842 (*ABV* 369,119; Graef/Langlotz 1909-1933, no 842, pl. 52; Lehnstädt 1970, no K30; Valavanis 1991, 487-498, fig. 1; Van Straten 1995, 196, V16, fig. 18; Gebauer 2002, 62, p 19, fig. 19); Athens NM 12531 (Lehnstädt 1970, no K29; Shapiro 1989, pl. 60B; *CVA* 4, pl. 28.1-4; Van Straten 1995, 195-96, V12; Gebauer 2002, 91, p. 45, fig. 44); Louvre CA 1837 (*ABL* 252,60, pl. 43.2; Lehnstädt 1970, K66; Gebauer 2002, 86, p 42, fig. 41; Borgers 2003, Cat. No 140).

37 Dillon 2001, 38.

38 Oxford 536 (*ARV*² 714,170; Lehnstädt 1970, no K118; *Beazley Addenda*² 282; Van Straten 1995 230, V 193, fig. 150; Gebauer 2002, 380, B 22, fig. 248).

39 See n. 35.

40 According to Gebauer it is a more or less 'regular' procession. According to A.N. Malagardis, sides A and B are thematically connected: Malagardis 1985, 71-92.

41 Shapiro 1989, pl. 58D; Van Straten 1995, 202, V52, fig. 24; *Sotheby's London, sale catalogue*, 12 June 1997, 127, lot no 305; Gebauer 2002, 73, p 32, fig. 31.

42 Lehnstädt 1970, no K38; Van Straten 1995, 200, V38, fig. 28; Gebauer 2002, 73, p 33, fig. 32.

43 For example, Athens NM 16384 (*ABV* 6; Lehnstädt 1970, no K1; Beazley1964, pl. 13.3; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Prometheus, no 57, pl. 424; Hurwit 1999, fig. 69) Nessos Painter; Berlin St. 3755 (Lehnstädt 1970, no K4; AA 1974, 214, figs. 24-25; Heilmeyer *et al*. 1988, no 5; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos, no 595, pl. 367; Brijder, *Siana Cups* III, 691, no 582) Siana cup; Berlin F 3989 (Lehnstädt 1970, no K13; *LIMC* V, s.v. Horai, no 20, pl. 345; *CVA* Berlin 7, pl. 43) row of women with sprigs and wreaths, manner of the Heidelberg Painter; Athens NM 11036 (Deubner 1932, pl. 5.1; *AntK* 9 (1966) 86 ff., pl. 20; Lehnstädt 1970, no K167; *LIMC IV*, s.v. Demeter, no 392, pl. 591; Clinton 1992, fig. 73; Scheibler 1994, fig. 70) procession of men, women and children holding torches; Louvre CA 2928 (*CVA* 12, pl. 193-194; Paquette 1984 fig. 7; Stampolidis 1999, fig. 10) procession of men in colourful mantles, BMN Painter.

44 Dillon 2001, 18, 39: 'That she pours a libation herself is unusual: this was normally a task reserved for men.'

45 Dillon 2001, 18.

46 See, for example, Münster 677 (*Kulturhistorisches Museum, Bielefeld: Werke der griechischen Antike*, 6 March-7 April 1977, 14, no 50; Stahler 1980, no 19; Korzus 1984, no 40) and Vienna 772 (*ARV*² 597; *CVA* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 2, pl. 62.1-5).

47 Graef/Langlotz 1909-1933, pl. 67; *Acta Archaeologica* 38 (1967) 189, fig. 13; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, 557, pl. 760; Shapiro 1989, pl. 10b; Maggiani 1997, fig. 1.

48 As on Athens Agora P 42 (*ARV*² 415,1; *Agora* XXX, no 1422), Louvre G 125 (*ARV*² 435,92 (441,196 joins); *Beazley Addenda*² 238; Buitron-Oliver 1995).

49 Such as Angers MTC 1012 (*ARV*² 215.7); Naples 81550 (*ARV*² 201.62; *Beazley Addenda*² 192); Louvre G 54 (*ARV*² 246,8; Oakley 1997, fig. 1; Murray/Tecusan 1995, fig. 3). Often the warriors are accompanied by dogs.

50 For example, Louvre G 431 (*CVA* Louvre 8, pl. 42.5, 7, 9, 11; *ARV*² 604,48; *Beazley Addenda*² 127; Prange 1989, no 60, pl. 23); Louvre G 538 (*ARV*² 1093,88; *CVA* Louvre 8, pl. 44.8-10).

51 Like: Verona MC 51 (*ARV*² 1023,148; *CVA* 2, pl. 2; *Beazley Addenda*² 316; Oakley 1990, no 148, pl. 124; Van Straten 1995, 251, V314; Gebauer 2002, 566, Kv 39); Adolphseck 49 (*CVA* 1, pl. 37, 1 and 4; *ARV*² 684.140; Van Straten 1995, 244, V269; Gebauer 2002, 562, kv13, fig. 344); Agrigento (*ARV*² 652,31; Para 402; Van Straten 1995, 244, V270; Gebauer 2002, 563, Kv 23, fig. 345); Athens NM 1285 (*ARV*² 1175,10; Van Straten 1995, 245, V275); Kassel T 551 (*CVA* 1, pl. 41,5-7; *BICS* 32 (1985) 130, pl. 8; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, fig. 13; Van Straten 1995, 247, V287; Gebauer 2002, 564, Kv 28); Kyrenia 111 (*AJA* 77 (1973) 432, pl. 84.45; Van Straten 1995, 248, V293); London E 522 (*ARV*² 1207,32; *Beazley Addenda*² 345; Van Straten 1995, 248, V 295; Gebauer 2002, 567, kv 44, fig. 351); Toledo 72.55 (*CVA* 1, pl. 53; Reeder *et al*. 1995, no 38; Van Straten 1995, 251, V312; Kunisch 1997, no 179, pl. 64; Gebauer 2002, 561, Kv 10; Dillon 2001, 40, fig. 2.1).

52 For example: Frankfurt B 306 (*ABL* 259,112; *CVA* 1, pl. 39.1-2; *ABV* 530,72; *Para* 360,12, 264; *LIMC* V, s.v. Hermes, no 105, pl. 208; Van Straten 1995, 223, V159; Gebauer 2002, 561, Kv 9); Darmstadt A 1969:4 (*ARV*² 1146,48; *Beazley Addenda*² 335; Van Straten 1995, 225, V173, fig. 146; Gebauer 2002, 395, B 33, fig. 257, with osphûs on altar).

[53] Athens NM 14501 (*ARV*² 1124,2; Van Straten 1995, 224, V165, fig. 138; Gebauer 2002, 400, B 39, fig. 264); Catania 9418 (*ARV*² 1684 (1124),4bis; *Beazley Addenda*² 332; Van Straten 1995, 225, V171, fig. 139; Gebauer 2002, 399, B 38, fig. 263); Lissabon 11257 (Van Straten, 227, V184; Gebauer 2002, 424, B 66, fig. 293); London E 504 (*ARV*² 1190,25, 1688; *Beazley Addenda*² 342; Van Straten 1995, 228, V187, fig. 137; Gebauer 2002, 407, B 44, fig. 269); Oxford 1931.9 (*ARV*² 1069,2; Van Straten 1995, 230, V196, fig. 148; Gebauer 2002, 392, B 31, fig. 255); Oxford 1945.250 (*ARV*² 1145,26; Van Straten 1995, 230, V197; Gebauer 2002, 396, B 34, fig. 258); Palermo V661a (*CVA* 1, pl. 14; *ARV*² 472,210, 1654; *Beazley Addenda*² 246; Van Straten 1995, 230, V198, fig. 133; Kunisch 1997, 209, no 444, pl. 151; Gebauer 2002, 369, B 13, fig. 238); Louvre G 402 (*Cité des Images*, 52, fig. 77; Van Straten 1995, 231, V199, fig. 136; Gebauer 2002, 416, B 57, fig. 285); Ruvo 1093 (*ARV*² 1184,1; *Para* 460; *Beazley Addenda*² 340; *LIMC* V, s.v. Hermes, no 123; Van Straten 1995, 231, V203; Moraw 1998, pl. 22.53; Gebauer 2002, 404, B 42, fig. 267); San Antonio 85.120.2 (Durand 1986, 132, fig. 56; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no 955; Van Straten 1995, 232, V208, fig. 140; Shapiro *et al*. 1995, no 95; Gebauer 2002, 412, B 50, fig. 276). For the discussion on a curved object on top of the altar to be identified as the osphûs, see especially Van Straten 1995, 118-44 and Gebauer 2002, 437-441.

[54] Ferrara 9925 (Lehnstädt 1970, no K138; Durand 1986, 139, fig. 64; Van Straten 1995, 226, V176; Gebauer 2002, 401, B 40, fig. 265); Kiel B54 (*CVA* 1. Pl. 36,1-5; *ARV*² 1334,14; Durand 1986, 140, fig. 65; *Beazley Addenda*² 365; *LIMC* V, s.v. Hermes, no 121; Van Straten 1995, 227, V181, fig. 143; Gebauer 2002, 418, B59, fig. 287); Lecce 630 (*CVA* 2, pl. 9 1 and 3; *ARV*² 1334,13; *Para* 480; Van Straten 1995, 227, 183; Gebauer 2002, 421, B61, fig. 289); Naples 127929 (*ARV*² 551,15; Boardman 1989, Archaic, fig. 340; Durand 1986, 140, fig. 66; *Beazley Addenda*² 257; Van Straten 1995, 229, V190; Gebauer 2002, 372, B17, fig. 240); Port Sunlight 5036 (see n. 27).

[55] Oxford 536 (see n. 38).

[56] Oxford 1911.617 (*CVA* Oxford 1, pls. 2.9, 7.3-4; *ARV*² 559,152; *Beazley Addenda*² 259; Van Straten 1995, V 195, fig. 145; *Gymnasium* 102 (1995) pl. 14; Gebauer 2002, 375, B18, fig. 244).

[57] See: Gebauer 2002, 375-377.

[58] See, for example: Schachter 1996, 620; Gebauer 2002, 375-377.

[59] Van Straten 1995, 141-144.

[60] Athens NM 1457 (Van Straten 1995, 223, V 163).

[61] Gela V 12 (*ARV*² 650,10). This vase does not appear in the lists of Gebauer and Van Straten, possibly implying that they do not consider it to be a sacrificial scene.

[62] Athens Agora P 15954 (*Agora* XXIII, no 782, pl. 73; Van Straten 1995, 222, V157). According to Moore and Phillipides the figure is a woman, but no explanation for this identification is given.

[63] Athens NM (*JdI* 14 (1899) 105, fig. 6; *ARV*² 1649; Van Straten 1995, 223, V162, fig. 141; Gebauer 2002, 368, B 12, fig. 237).

[64] Munich (Gebauer 2002, 426, B 68).

[65] Villa Giulia 50323 (*ARV*² 658,31; Van Straten 1995, 210, V95; Gebauer 2002, 161, pv 138 f). Although this representation is photographically unpublished, all sources mention that it is a woman.

[66] Athens Acropolis 779 (Graef/Langlotz 1909-1933, no 779, pl. 68; *ARV*² 258,29; Para 351; Van Straten 1995, 246, V282).

[67] Athens Acropolis 752 (Graef/Langlotz 1909-1933, no 752, pl. 64; *ARV*² 1090,49; Van Straten 1995, 245, V281). Again, all sources see these figures as women.

[68] *ARV*² 1204,2; Van Straten 1995, 204, V63; Gebauer 2002, 245, Av 23; Dillon 2001, 247, fig. 8.1; Group of Palermo 16.

[69] St. Petersburg 4509 (Peredolskaja 1967 no 64, pl. 42.2; Van Straten 1995, V 234; Gebauer 2002, 312, Z 17, fig. 179).

[70] At a *thysia*, the priest(ess) was responsible for the overall ceremony, (s)he pronounced the prayers, sprinkled the victim's head with water and offered grains of barley ('first fruits') on the altar. The actual killing of the animal was done by a *boutypos* ('ox-striker'), the butchering and partitioning of the animal by a *mageiros* (meaning both cook and butcher); for more details, Bruit Zaidman/Schmitt-Pantel 1989, 32-36.

[71] Gebauer 2002, 482-486.

[72] Gebauer 2002, 448-470.

[73] Pingiatoglou 1994, 39-51; Gebauer 2002, 444.

[74] Athens NM 498 (see n. 10).

[75] Basle BS 415 (Boardman 1989, fig. 333; Simon 1983, pl. 32,3; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos, 845, pl. 401; *CVA* Basle 3, 22, fig. 3; *AntK* 43 (2000) pl. 5,2; Boardman 2001, fig. 227).

[76] Berlin F 2029 (Furtwängler 1885, no 2029; Neugebauer 1932, 50, no F 2029; Lehnstädt 1970, no K45).

[77] For example Athens NM 1392 (*ARV*² 1460,58; Van Straten 1995, 245, V276).

[78] Boston 76.53 (*ABV* 711; *Para* 303,13; *CVA* Boston 2, pl. 59; *Beazley Addenda*² 142; Gebauer 2002, 132, pv 95, fig. 85); Naples 86389 (*ABL* 246,103; *CVA* Napels 5, pl. 80; *ABV* 559,504; Gebauer 2002, 135, pv 105).

[79] Haverford College (*ARV*² 557.116, 1659; Para 387; *Beazley Addenda*² 259; Descoeudres 1990, fig. 1, pl. 22; *AM* 109 (1994) pl. 17.3-4); London E 88 (*AJA* 43 (1939) 247-54, fig. 1; Van Straten 1995, 248, V294; Reeder *et al*. 1995, fig. 8).

[80] Naples 81908 (*LIMC* II, s.v. Artemis, 113, pl. 452; Oenbrink 1997, pl. 26; *AJA* 103 (1999) 247, figs. 24-25); United States, private coll. (*Para* 291; Delavaud-Roux 1993, no 29; Ceccarelli 1998, pl. 20.1-2).

[81] New York 75.2.11 (*ARV*² 1313.11, 1580; *Para* 477; *Beazley Addenda*² 362; Dillon 2001, 70, fig. 2.15).

[82] Athens Agora P 15210 (*Hesperia* 46 (1977) 378, pl. 96d; Van Straten 1995, 244, V274; *Agora* XXX, 244-245, no 716, pl. 76).

[83] Borgers 2003, Cat. nos 45-50.

[84] Van Straten 1995, 52-53. See also Burkert 1966, 98-99 and Borgers 2003, 119.

[85] For example New Haven, Yale 164 (*ARV*² 377,105, 405); Mykonos (*ARV*² 1124,3; Marchegay *et al*. 1998, fig. 8).

[86] See n. 7.

[87] Gebauer 2002, 169-170.

[88] Gebauer 2002, 444.

[89] Gebauer 2002, 486-488.

[90] Van Straten 1995, 13; Gebauer 2002, 487-488.

[91] Dillon 2001, 38. Dillon gives no reason for this distinction.

[92] Dillon 2001, 205-206: Demetrios *FGH* 2285 F5; Ael. *VH* 6.1; schol. Ar. *Birds* 1551.

[93] Dillon 2001, 205, also mentions the male hydria-carriers on the procession-frieze of the Parthenon. Of these he remarks: 'This has led scholars to assume that this task at the time of the carving of the frieze was performed by citizen males but that it was at a later date transferred to the metic girls. However it is difficult to accept that girls could have carried the rather large hydriai that the youths are carrying'.

[94] Berlin 3330, *AA* 1895, 35 ff. No 26, fig. 10; Hoeber 1918, pl. 11, fig. 6; Lehnstädt 1970, no K51; *AA* 1985, fig. 10.

[95] Literary indications of *metoikia* as a status in Aesch. *Supplices*, of ca 463, and in *Eumenides* of 458; inclusion of metics in the sacrifices of the deme Skambonidae in the 460's (*IG* I^3 244); inclusion in the Panathenaea suggested by the exodos of Aesch. *Eum*.; cf. Whitehead 1977, 87; on a date in the 460s: Bakewell 1997, 209-228.

[96] Only in the group 'combined sacrifices and libations' it is unclear whether this type appears on black- or red-figure for the first time. Three of these vases have a relatively early date, one of them black figure: Würzburg 474, Ambrosius Painter (*ARV*^{2} 173,10; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 184); Boston 00.34, Nikosthenes Painter (*ARV*^{2} 126,27; Para 333; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 176) and London 1856.12-26.220, by the Edinburgh Painter (*ABL* 219,65).

[97] Von Bothmer 1985, 15, in letters to the author.

[98] The database of the Beazley archive gives an idea of the relative proportions of black and red-figure, as it also incorporates unattributed vases. It is however a database in progress. As of April 2006 the numbers are: 32.857 for black-figure, 37.200 for red-figure, not a significant difference.

[99] The number of red-figure vases in the period 475-425 (211 pieces) is larger than that of 500-450 (only 193 pieces), although the total of black- and red-figure of the latter exceeds the number of period 475-425.

[100] In the period 425-375/400-350, 20% and 18% respectively of the vases show women only, against 64% and 61% respectively depict scenes with only men.

[101] See also the correlation between labour scenes and pelikai: Shapiro 1997, 63-70.

[102] Strangely enough, the Bowdoin Painter's 'alter ego', the Athena Painter, only has four scenes that can be designated as religious in content.

[103] Nine pieces each: Beldam, Berlin, Gela, Triptolemos, Tymbos, Washing Painters and Makron. 8 pieces: Painter of Olynthos 5.156. 7 pieces: Eucharides, Icarus, Tarquinia Painters, which extends the number to 334 pieces, nearly half of the attributed vases with religious scenes.

[104] The Aischines Painter also has more than 40 vases with representations of Nikai, in contrast to his scenes of daily life, only three of these show Nikai at libations.

[105] Only one of his 'religious scenes' consists of something else, a libation.

[106] The remaining 34 vases are either of unknown shape, or are fragments of which the original shape is not retraceable.

[107] The largest sub-group within kraters are formed by Bell-kraters (56 pieces). Of the other sub-forms, fewer with religious scenes are known: Calyx-: 17, Column-: 21 and only 5 Volute-kraters. 13 kraters are of unknown shape.

[108] Boston 65.908, by the Painter of London D14, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 67 (1969) 88-89, figs. 19, 20; Mertens 1977, pl. 21.4.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 99-105. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033100.

La matematica e l'architettura del Partenone

Roberto Brigo

Abstract

This great work of art bequeathed through time continues to arouse our interest, also because of its scientific features. Studying such an extended temple allows us to experience the sensitivity of its creator, and it evokes a sense of the ways in wich people used to think and feel during that historical period. The architectural features come from the Greek passion for the sciences, in particular for mathematics; ranging from prime numbers 2 and 3, with their odd/even distinction, to their turning into 4 and 9, from the Pythagorean triangles with their 3-4-5 long sides, to the sections comprising of, as in music sheets, the architectural arrangement: science turns into art. With respect to those mathematical sets, one may identify the foot as the unit of measurement used in the Parthenon, as well as discover the intellectual and diagrammatic processes drawing us ever closer to the secret core of this work of art.

DESCRIZIONE

Si espongono alcune considerazioni per portare un contributo al processo critico-conoscitivo in corso sull'evoluzione storica, costruttiva e formale del Partenone. All'inizio della lettura dell'organismo architettonico vorremmo essere d'accordo con L. Borsari: 'Anzitutto dobbiamo proporci il rispetto assoluto per l'autenticità di quanto sopravvive nelle antiche opere ed una completa rinuncia alle idee aprioristiche ed a quelle derivanti dalla lettura di centinaia di volumi critici, per interrogare invece i monumenti e tenere conto di quanto essi dicono, e sul resto, imitarli: tacendo'.[1] Il campo d'indagine è assai vasto e diversificato, per 'procedere' dovremmo fare un percorso 'a ritroso', attorno all'insieme dei segni leggibili del Partenone, ai disegni delle sue forme originarie e ripercorrere nella nostra mente le operazioni di coloro che li realizzarono, alla ricerca di un principio unitivo che emerga sul disordine delle impressioni.

E' un'opera che proviene da un mondo i cui riferimenti culturali erano assai diversi dai nostri e certamente diverso era il modello progettuale, le regole operative, la rappresentazione delle geometrie ed altro. Il Tempio, pur avendo perduta l'integrità dell'immagine originaria, nella sua attuale forma fisica e figurativa consente una buona leggibilità della sua architettura. L'opera è ampiamente studiata,[2] nei numerosi saggi si evidenzia anche la sua composizione sorvegliatissima ed accurata. Dall'esame dei disegni dei vari elementi a poco a poco si notano le combinazioni, gli accordi e le proporzioni applicate ai problemi artistici, secondo teorie scientifiche dell'estetica classica. Sono teorie che troviamo nelle fonti letterarie antiche e che mettono in evidenza anche le affinità che presentano le arti dell'architettura e della scultura. In particolare Vitruvio[3] indica delle concordanze relative alle misurazioni proporzionali; Galeno[4] mette in evidenza il problema della modularità nella scultura - riferita a quella di Policleto - e dice che il modulo non è tratto da un sistema metrologico che porterebbe a delle combinazioni artificiali di misure astratte, ma è nella scultura stessa. Sono formulazioni che portano all'arte del Rinascimento, agli studi delle proporzioni e del ritmo che maestri come Leon Battista Alberti e Leonardo da Vinci considerarono nelle loro ricerche sulla bellezza. Nello specifico del Partenone, fra i problemi legati alla proporzionalità, quello che risulta assai controverso è relativo all'unità di misura con cui il Tempio dovrebbe essere stato progettato e costruito. Sull'argomento sono impegnati vari studiosi e specialisti dell'architettura classica.

Per Vitruvio l'unità di misura si dovrebbe ottenere dividendo la lunghezza del lato corto della piattaforma su cui poggiano le colonne (stilobate) per una cifra fissa, 27 se il tempio è di quattro colonne (tetrastilo), 42 se il tempio è di sei colonne (esastilo).[5] Per quanto riguarda i templi di otto colonne (ottastilo), come il Partenone, non si hanno indicazioni.

Nel 1787 J. Stuart presenta una ricerca che, partendo dalla misura del lato corto del Tempio e dividendo per 100, ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,30827.[6] Per lo stesso problema anche altri autori hanno utilizzato il numero 100 e sono arrivati a valori simili, come A. Paccard,[7] A. Aurès[8] e F.C. Penrose.[9] Plutarco scrive che il Partenone, a

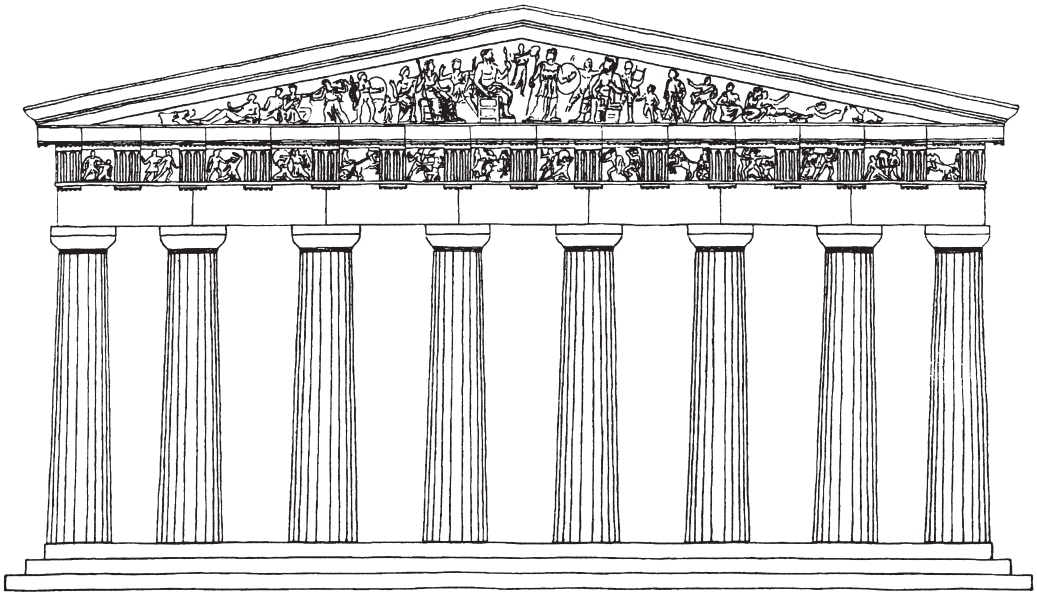

Fig. 1. Partenone, fronte est; ricostruzione.

cui lavorarono Callicrate e Ictino, è di 100 piedi;[10] *hekatompedos*, 100 piedi, è l'antica denominazione della cella del tempio. Intorno alla dimensione della lunghezza interna della cella W. Dörpfeld, utilizzando il numero 100, ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,328.[11] Il numero 100 è usato da W.B. Dinsmoor[12] e A.K. Orlandos.[13]

La ricerca è continuata e, in occasione del Parthenon-Kongress di Basilea del 1982, vennero presentati i lavori di molti autori intorno al problema dell'unità di misura del Partenone, con interpretazioni e conclusioni diverse. Nello stesso periodo S. Stucchi, partendo da misure interne della cella e dividendo per 100 ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,305.[14] In successive ricerche R. de Zwarte definisce la misura di m 0,2986 piede ionico e lo verifica anche nel Partenone.[15]

Proseguendo nell'indagine e con le precedenti considerazioni, in particolare quelle delle corrispondenze fra scultura e architettura, dobbiamo soffermarci sull'affusolata colonna del Tempio, dell'ordine dorico, con la caratteristica della colonna scanalata senza base e quella dell'elemento posto in cima alla stessa (capitello), parte del quale ha la forma di un cuscino (echino). Il dato che si riscontra nei rilievi ed a cui si fa riferimento è la misura di ognuna delle 20 scanalature (*fig. 2*), equivalente a metri 0,298,[16] piede architettonico. E' un dato rilevante e significativo in questo inizio di ricerca, indica una misura comune da cui trova applicazione la scala delle proporzioni.

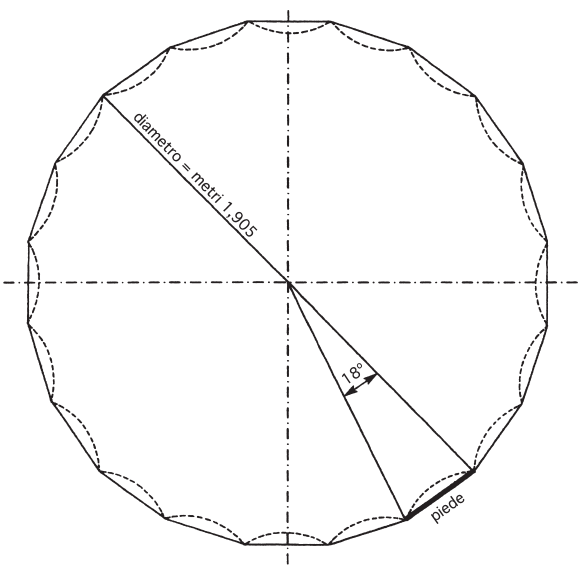

Fig. 2. Partenone, sezione di base della colonna.

Con lo svolgimento i punti da elencare sono:
1) l'unità di misura equivalente a metri 0,298,
2) l'unità di misura si riscontra in una unità visibile del Partenone, in ognuna delle 20 scanalature della colonna.

E' noto che una delle caratteristiche dell'architettura del Partenone è il rapporto 4 : 9, rapporto ricorrente che si riscontra tra le varie parti in orizzontale, in verticale, all'esterno, ed all'interno. Fra queste parti abbiamo la struttura orizzontale sulla

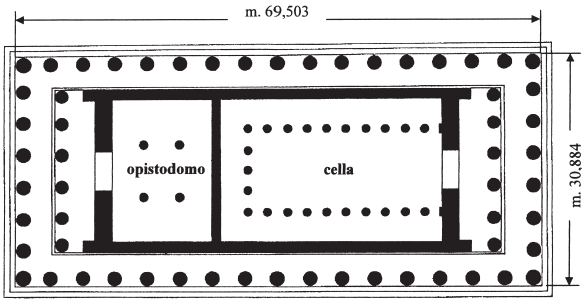

Fig. 3. Partenone, pianta.

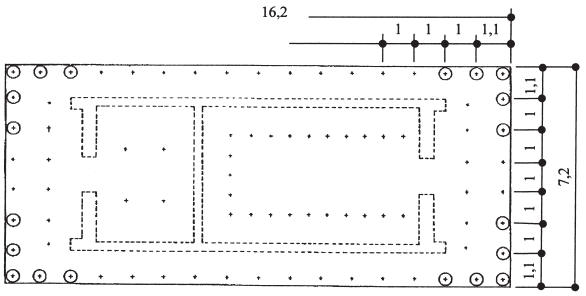

Fig. 4. Partenone, schema degli interassi delle colonne.

quale poggiano le colonne (stilobate), al gradino più alto (*fig. 3*), larghezza e lunghezza sono in rapporto 4 : 9.

In precedenza si sono evidenziate alcune caratteristiche formali delle colonne, ora dobbiamo soffermarci sul loro posizionamento lungo il perimetro, tenendo conto dei rilievi.[17]

Si mettono in evidenza gli interassi delle colonne (*i*) e la dimensione dello stilobate, la piattaforma su cui poggiano le colonne, equivalente a metri 30,884 e metri 69,503. Gli interassi delle colonne sono 5 più 2 d'angolo nel lato della larghezza e 14 più 2 d'angolo in quello della lunghezza (*fig. 4*). Con il numero degli interassi delle colonne e il rapporto 4 : 9, si ottiene:

$$7{,}2 : 16{,}2 = 4 : 9.$$

L'interpretazione è questa: la larghezza è formata da 5 interassi più 2 d'angolo ognuno di questi ultimi equivalenti a:

$$1{,}1 \times i$$

in modo da avere

$$5 + 1{,}1 + 1{,}1 = 7{,}2$$

così per la lunghezza

$$14 + 1{,}1 + 1{,}1 = 16{,}2;$$

si tratta ora di stabilire gli interassi *i*.

Procediamo in questo modo: considerata la larghezza dello stilobate del Partenone di metri 30,884, essendo gli interassi *i* equivalenti a 7,2:

metri 30,884 : 7,2 = metri 4,29 (interasse *i*).

Con questa procedura si eseguono le operazioni anche partendo dalla lunghezza dello stilobate e si ottiene lo stesso risultato:

metri 69,503 : 16,2 = metri 4,29 (interasse *i*).

Se l'interasse di metri 4,29 si divide per l'unità di misura di metri 0,298 si ottiene il numero di unità per ogni interasse uguale a 14,4 (numero significativo considerando il numero 7,2 precedente). La procedura spiega la misurazione della pianta del Partenone avendo come riferimento il numero degli interassi delle colonne. Altri numeri significativi si ottengono da semplici rapporti, anche di tipo diverso, fra questi:

- il rapporto fra il numero di interassi totali del fronte con quelli centrali, 7,2 : 5 = 1,44;
- il rapporto fra la larghezza e la lunghezza dell'opistodomo, m 19,040 : m 13,220 = 1,44;
- il rapporto tra la larghezza dello stilobate e la larghezza della cella, m 30,884 : m 19,065 = 1,62;
- il rapporto fra la lunghezza esterna del sekos (cella + opistodomo) e la lunghezza interna della cella, m 48,27 : m 29,786 = 1,62.

Sono altri dati significativi per avvicinarci, dalle misure attuali del Partenone, alle sue misure nominali-progettuali, alla proporzionalità dell'insieme.

Nella parte che segue si fa riferimento ai rapporti ed alle circostanze metriche che acquistano un significato particolare. Sin qui abbiamo i numeri 4 - 9 - 7,2 - 14,4 - 1,44 - 16,2 - 1,62, indicando la presenza di un repertorio, che è possibile individuare partendo dai numeri primi 2 e 3 nelle diverse combinazioni:

$2 \;/\; 3$

$2^2 \;/\; 3^2 = 4/9$

$2^2 \times 3^2 = 36 \leftrightarrow 72 \leftrightarrow 7{,}2 \leftrightarrow 14{,}4 \leftrightarrow 1{,}44 \leftrightarrow 2{,}88 \leftrightarrow 5{,}76 \leftrightarrow 57{,}6$

$2^3 \times 2^3 = 64 \leftrightarrow 32 \leftrightarrow 3{,}2$

$3^2 \times 3^2 = 81 \leftrightarrow 162 \leftrightarrow 16{,}2 \leftrightarrow 1{,}62$

$7{,}2 \;/\; 16{,}2 = 4 \;/\; 9.$

Sono utilizzati anche i numeri 100 e 192 (64 x 3). Questo gruppo di numeri rappresenta il repertorio aritmetico che si combina nell'architettura del Tempio. Da questi numeri, con prodotti e divisioni, si ottengono altri numeri presenti nel Partenone, tra questi:

- 4,32 = 1,44 x 3;
- 3,24 e 2,43 (permutazioni dal numero 4,32);[18]
- 8,1 e 1,8.

Dalla misura che si riscontra alla base della scanalatura della colonna (metri 0,298) con i dati dei rilievi, questi numeri si ricavano nelle quantità e nei rapporti fra le varie parti architettoniche, in orizzontale, in verticale, all'esterno ed all'interno del Tempio. Dicevamo dell'architettura e degli

stretti rapporti che uniscono il suo linguaggio a quello della scultura. E per la sostenibilità del concetto ci è parsa molto espressiva la formulazione di Rh. Carpenter nel suo ben noto saggio: 'Chiunque oggi contemplando i resti di un antico tempio greco senza percepire tale corrispondenza fra le due arti, per cui un insieme di molte centinaia di parti distinte è stato fuso in un tutto monolitico, come se si trattasse di una scultura, non riesce a cogliere il vero livello raggiunto dall'architettura greca'.[19]

L'analisi che stiamo conducendo ci porta a considerare le quantità, i rapporti di quantità, le proporzioni parziali che ordinano al loro interno i vari componenti: si riconoscono connessioni ed intersezioni, si colgono alcuni principi. Con il rapporto che compare in più parti, il rapporto 4 : 9, ci troviamo in una delle 'categorie' vitruviane, quella della simmetria (*fig. 5*). Fra la larghezza e la lunghezza del Partenone vi è una corrispondenza che gli antichi chiamavano simmetria, poiché i due valori, pur non essendo uguali, sono misurati in multipli di una unità comune.

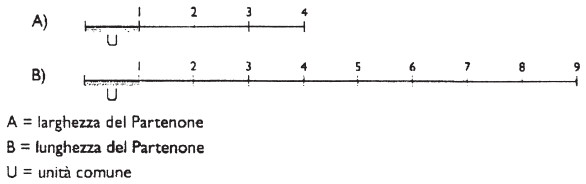

Fig. 5. Simmetria, i segmenti A e B sono fra loro in rapporto 4 : 9.

Riportando l'unità comune **U** sul fronte del Partenone si ha:

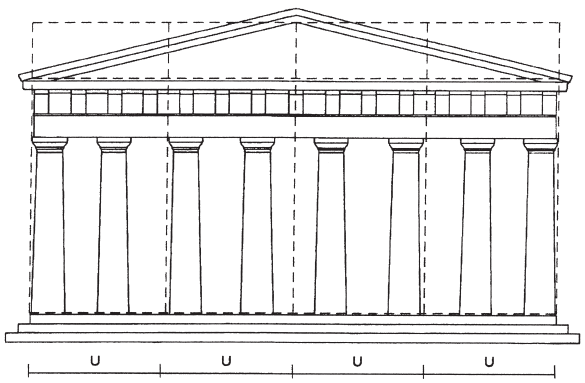

Fig. 6. Partenone, il fronte con lo schema delle unità comuni.

Dalla figura precedente si ottiene:

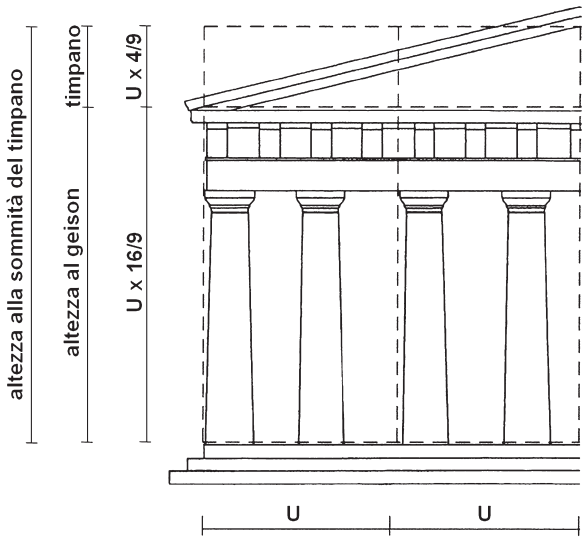

Fig. 7. Partenone, schema dell'unità comune **U** *in alzato, con gli stessi rapporti 4 : 9 della pianta.*

Passando al rapporto 4 : 9 possiamo dividere l'unità comune **U** in nove parti:

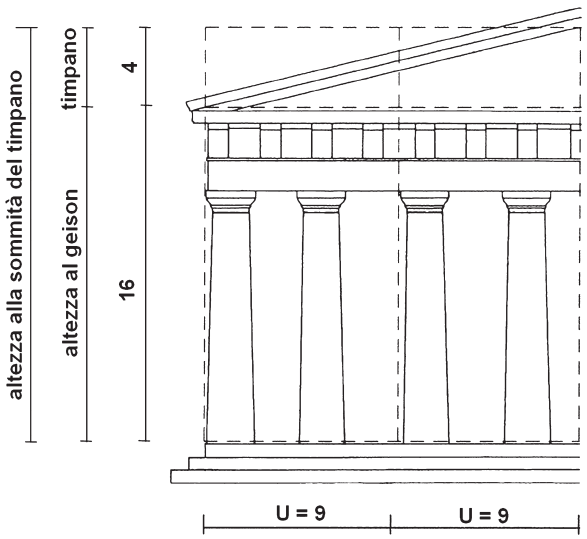

Fig. 8. Partenone, schema dell'unità comune **U** *in alzato con suddivisioni.*

Con le ultime elaborazioni siamo giunti ad un punto centrale della nostra ricerca: la formazione di partiture generali di riferimento per la composizione architettonica del Partenone. Queste partiture formano una unità numerica per la consonanza delle parti tra di loro e con il tutto (*fig. 9*).

In rapporto con le dimensioni orizzontali sono posti in rilievo: l'altezza della colonna, dell'architrave (epistilio), del fregio (triglifo-metopa), del cornicione (geison), del timpano e quindi l'altezza dallo stilobate alla parte superiore; si considera anche l'interasse delle colonne per il rilievo che assume nella formula generale. La ricerca porta ad uno schema di partiture dove ogni componente architettonico trova piena rispondenza: partiture che si pongono alla base del progetto iniziale, nelle quali si articola il progetto stesso.

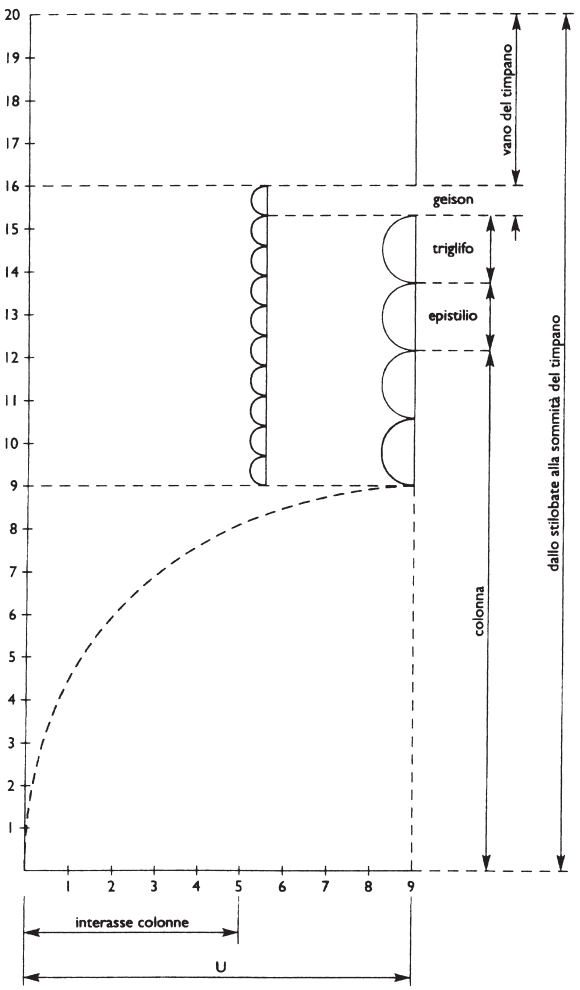

Fig. 9. Partenone, schema delle tre partiture. Si formano i rapporti fra le parti in pianta ed in alzato.

Con la partitura dei componenti architettonici si completa la metodologia della ricerca, che si articola in quattro punti:
1) l'unità di misura architettonica è di metri 0,298,
2) l'unità di misura è visibile nell'architettura del Partenone, nella colonna,
3) un gruppo numerico si combina nell'architettura e deriva dai numeri primi 2 e 3,
4) la partitura di riferimento articola la composizione architettonica.

Partendo dalla misura corrispondente all'unità (metri 0,298 - piede architettonico) e con gli sviluppi mediante l'applicazione dei numeri primi 2 e 3, nelle quantità e nelle proporzioni orizzontali e verticali, con la partitura legata a questa aritmetica, con sequenza di operazioni si possono definire le parti fondamentali della costruzione.

Riportando le partiture sugli elementi architettonici si ottiene:

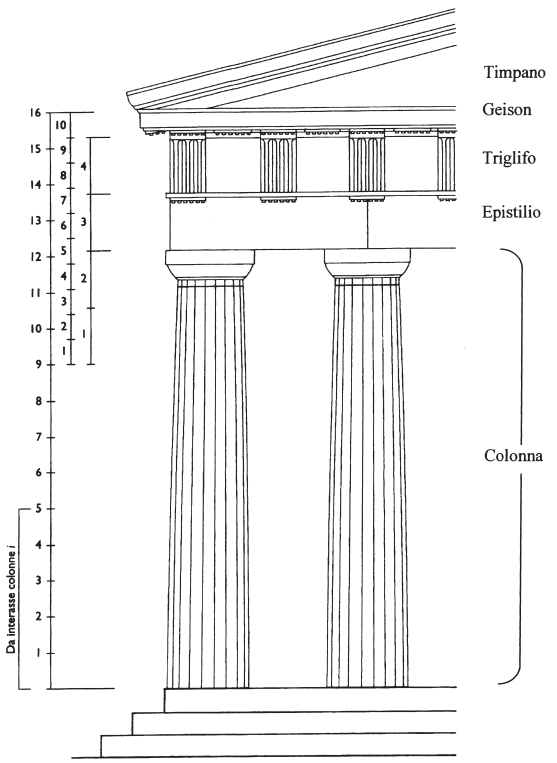

Fig. 10. Partenone, elementi architettonici con partiture, in alzato.

Dalla tabella 1 si può notare che i numeri interi di repertorio (192 - 162 - 100 - 72 - 64) determinano riferimenti cardine della costruzione (*fig. 11*).

Considerando che le dimensioni dello stilobate sono in rapporto 4 : 9 possiamo sostituirle con i numeri del rapporto (*fig. 12*).

Risultano anche i triangoli della triade 'pitagorica' 3 - 4 - 5^{20} che consentono di verificare l'angolo di 90° senza utilizzare strumenti particolari.

La definizione delle misure principali in numeri interi ed appartenenti ad un repertorio iniziale facilita la realizzazione, anche per la maggiore sem-

Tabella 1:
Riassunto delle dimensioni nominali-progettuali; nella parentesi le misure rilevate (Orlandos).

	metri	metri
Altezza colonna	10,427	(10,430)
Epistilio	1,352	(1,350)
Triglifo	1,352	(1,351)
Geison	0,601	(0,600)
Dallo stilobate al geison	13,731	(13,730)
Vano del timpano	3,432	(3,428)
Dallo stilobate alla sommità del timpano	17,164	(17,160)
Larghezza dello stilobate	30,895	(30,884)
Lunghezza dello stilobate	69,514	(69,503)
Lunghezza esterna *sekos* = cella + opistodomo, piedi 162	48,276	(48,270)
Interasse colonne esterne al *sekos*, piedi 192	57,216	(57,236)
Larghezza esterna cella, ad altezza fregio, piedi 72	21,456	(21,440)
Lunghezza interna cella, piedi 100	29,800	(29,786)
Larghezza interna cella, piedi 64	19,072	(19,065)
Lunghezza interna opistodomo, piedi 44 4/9	13,244	(13,220)
Larghezza interna opistodomo, piedi 64	19,072	(19,040)
Somma 5 interassi colonne, piedi 72	21,456	(21,474)

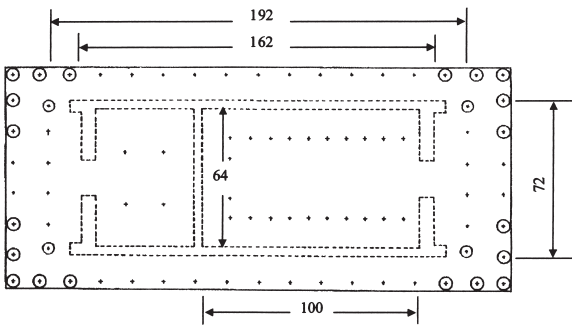

Fig. 11. Partenone, misure espresse in piedi.

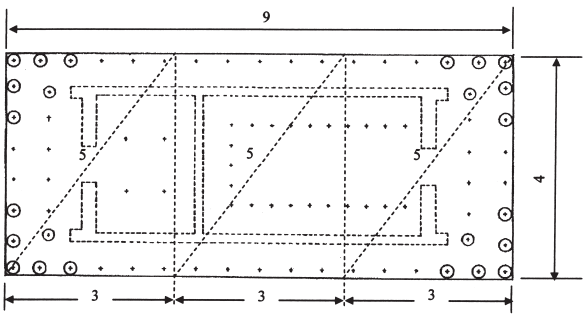

Fig. 12. Partenone, triangoli 'pitagorici'.

plicità nella comunicazione tra le maestranze. Da queste misure si definisce con precisione l'esterno e il *sekos* in coordinazione geometrica e, continuando con gli allineamenti e le diagonali, si completano i lati dello stilobate, quindi, con l'utilizzo dei triangoli 'pitagorici' 3 - 4 - 5, si verificano i lati e gli angoli. Con l'ulteriore misura della lunghezza interna della cella di 100 piedi, con la geometria, utilizzando regoli e compassi, si individuano gli altri punti dimensionali e, tenendo conto delle esigenze generali della composizione, si scende alle piccole dimensioni delle parti architettoniche. E' un dialogo aritmetico, geometrico e compositivo.

Si deve ammettere che il Partenone è straordinariamente complesso. E non è la complessità che emerge da suggestione collettiva, dai luoghi comuni della retorica entusiastica o quella dei numeri infiniti o quella dei numeri 'misteriosi', ma la complessità che deriva dalla ingegnosità della sua progettazione, delle sue partiture. Le proporzioni, gli accordi, diversamente combinati, vengono evidenziati in varie parti e un gruppo numerico particolare articola i movimenti che si creano lungo il percorso della composizione. Lo svolgimento procede mediante variazioni che si compenetrano in verticale ed in orizzontale.

L'incarico di Direttore e Sovrintendente della realizzazione del Partenone - opera di architettura e scultura per eccellenza - venne affidato a Fidia,[21] un compito inusuale per uno scultore, ma che l'Artista portò a termine con grande maestria.

NOTAZIONE

Abbiamo rilevato la misura architettonica alla base della scanalatura della colonna, equivalente a metri 0,298, l'unità di misura con la quale si sono ottenuti i risultati della ricerca. Nella colonna si ha quindi il numero 1; il numero 20 si ha dal perimetro della stessa (20 scanalature).

Dal riassunto delle misure nominali-progettuali si hanno altri numeri interi (192 - 162 - 100 - 72 - 64); risultano poi altre misure fra cui quella dell'interasse delle colonne di piedi 14,4; dallo schema delle partiture si ricava l'altezza totale equivalente a 57,6 piedi. Sono evidenziati i numeri di repertorio 7,2 - 16,2 - 1,44 - 1,62 ed altri, frazioni scritte sotto forma decimale; tutto questo si riscontra negli accordi, nelle proporzioni, nelle variazioni e permutazioni della composizione del Tempio, come un Trattato di aritmetica decimale applicata, del periodo classico.

Possiamo dunque dire che il Partenone, spazio matematico classico e insieme contemporaneo, rappresenta un modello di partizioni architettoniche e rapporti di forme della più alta e raffinata capacità artistica, un fatto vitale nel contesto della città di Atene.

NOTE

1 L. Borsari, *Il Foro Romano*, Roma 1899; Giuliani/Verduchi 1987, 11.
2 Uno degli studi di grande valore, con disegni in scala e dati metrologici, è la pubblicazione di A.K. Orlandos, 1977-1978.
3 Vitruvio, *De Architectura* 3.1.65: 'Le membra dei templi devono avere, con metodo simile - quello degli antichi pittori e scultori - una perfetta corrispondenza e concordanza di misura nelle singole parti con tutta la somma della grandezza intera'. Cfr. Arias 1964, 47.
4 Galeno, *de placita Hippocratis et Platonis* 5.3: '[Crisippo] invece ritiene che la bellezza non consista nella simmetria degli elementi ma in quella delle parti, del dito in relazione col dito, e di tutti insieme in relazione al metacarpo ed al carpo, e di questi rispetto l'avambraccio, e dell'avambraccio rispetto al braccio; e di tutti essi rispetto al tutto, secondo quanto appunto è scritto nel Canone di Policleto'. Cfr. Arias 1964, 46.
5 Vitruvio, *De Architectura* 4.3; Stucchi 1983, 21.
6 Stuart 1787, 8.
7 Ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,3085: Aurès 1867, 12.
8 Ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,3089: Aurès 1867, 13.
9 Ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,3088: Penrose 1888, 7.
10 Plutarco, *Vita di Pericle* 13.7; Magnino 2006, 49.
11 Dörpfeld 1890, 172.
12 Ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,32685: Dinsmoor 1950, 161.
13 Ottiene l'unità di misura di metri 0,32878: Orlandos 1977-1978, 699.
14 Stucchi 1983, 25.
15 De Zwarte 1994, 142-143; 2002, 14-18.
16 Brigo 1999, 63-67, 104.
17 Orlandos 1977-1978.
18 Dal numero 4,32, mediante la frazione 3/4, si ottiene: 4,32 x 3/4 = 3,24 e 3,24 x 3/4 = 2,43.
19 Carpenter 1979, 85.
20 Si tratta del primo triangolo rettangolo espresso con numeri interi, Lidonnici 1935, 436; Tiberi 1964, 119; Frajese 1970, 146; Vitruvio, *De Arch*. 9: Dell'invenzione di Pitagora per formare la squadra ad angolo retto.
21 Plutarco, *Vita di Pericle* 13.6; Magnino 2006, 47-49.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 107-109. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033101.

A Note on the Myth of Tages

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Abstract

This note suggests that Tages, the mythical founder of the Etrusca disciplina*, is depicted on an engraved Etruscan mirror in the British Museum. The identification, if correct, provides some verification of the literary evidence for the myth of Tages, but it substantially undermines the common equation of Pavatarchies, a youth who appears on another engraved Etruscan mirror, with Tages.*

The myth of Tages is both simple and important; important because it explains the origins of the Etruscan arts of divination, and simple because the essence of the myth is as follows:[1] working one day in his field, an Etruscan from Tarquinia called Tarchon ploughed up an infant child. But this was no ordinary baby, for it had teeth, perhaps grey hair, and the capacity of speech; it was, in short, a baby with the facial features of an adult.[2] This baby, Tages, then proceeded to expound the theories and methods of divination to those who were present.

At first sight the myth may not appear to be authentically Etruscan. 'Tages' is obviously Greek (τὰ γῆς), while the unequivocal evidence for the story is late (Cicero is the earliest of the sources) and is not Etruscan. However, there is an abundance of good evidence for the use of the Greek language in Etruria, and from an early date; Tages could conceivably be a translation of some original Etruscan name (compare the *tinias clenar* and the Dioscuri, although that is the other way around);[3] and Cicero certainly claimed to have consulted Etruscan sources, perhaps the writings of Aulus Caecina, a Volaterran, a scholar, and a friend.[4] Lydus, who preserves the fullest account of the story, too implied that he had used a good source: the very writings of Tarchon himself.[5] Whatever the value of Lydus' claim may be, the myth is undoubtedly Etruscan.

It has been suggested that the myth of Tages appears on a late 4th century BC mirror from Tuscania (*fig. 1*).[6] The mirror shows five figures, from the left: Rathlth, Avl[e] Tarchunus, Ucernei, Pavatarchies, and Veltune. Pavatarchies, the figure who is depicted holding and inspecting the liver, it is argued, is Tages. He is certainly presented as a practitioner of the divinatory arts, for he wears the distinctive hat of a *haruspex*. But, while Pavatarchies is a youth (he has no beard), he is clearly not an infant nor is he even especially young, and the figure to his right, Avl[e] Tarchunus, also wears a *haruspex*'s hat. It is true that Tarchunus wears his hat pushed back over his head, but this could just as easily signify that he is letting Pavatarchies interpret the liver, as it could that he is his student. Indeed, since Tarchunus is bearded, it may be he who is the teacher, and Pavatarchies the student.[7] Pavatarchies is fully clothed and there is nothing to suggest that he has recently been unearthed, nor is there even any emphasis on the field, and the plough, an obvious icon for the story, is nowhere to be seen. Tarchunus is not dressed as a farmer either. If none of the figures had *-tarch-* in their name, there would be no reason at all to think that the myth of Tages was depicted on this mirror, and names beginning with *Tarch-* appear not infrequently in Etruria.[8] Of course, if the mirror does show the myth of Tages, then it is clear that either the literary sources have got it horribly wrong, or that the version which they knew was radically different from the version depicted by the engraver.

There is arguably a second Etruscan mirror which may show Tages. This mirror, which is in the British Museum, dates to the mid-4th century BC and shows the adorning of Malavish (*fig. 2*).[9] Malavish is seated; Munthuch, Hinthial and Zip[n]a crowd around her, while Turan (Aphrodite), who stands slightly to one side, seems to be supervising the proceedings. Since Malavisch appears on several similar mirrors it is safe to assume that she is not a specific person (such as, for example, the owner of the mirror);[10] she is, presumably, either a character from some otherwise unknown Etruscan myth, or a simple generic figure ('the bride' or perhaps 'one who gazes at her reflection').[11] Whoever she is, and whatever her name may mean, the interpretation of the scene seems straightforward: Malavisch is apparently being prepared for courtship or for marriage.[12] The presence of Turan suggests this, as do the two

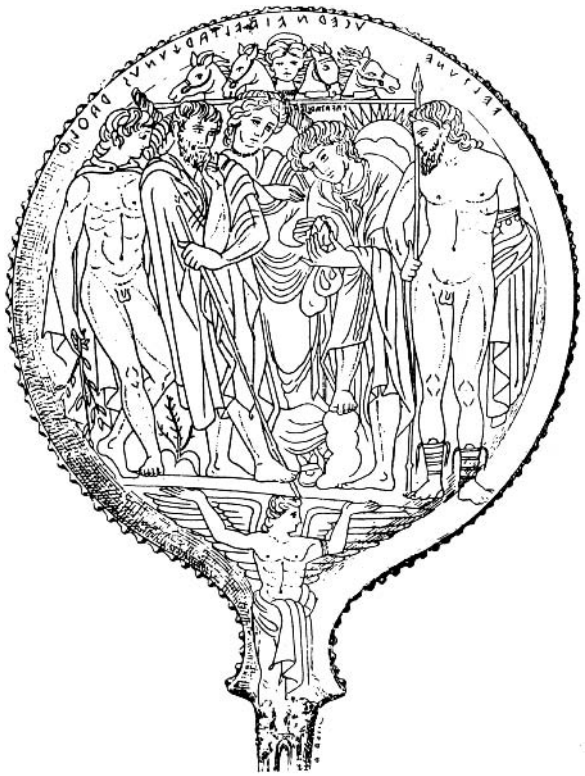

Fig. 1. Engraved mirror from Tuscania (after Torelli 1988, 110).

Fig. 2. Engraved mirror in the British Museum (after Van der Meer 1995, fig. 96).

birds in the exergue below Malavisch's chair, for their mutually submissive poses show that they are courting; a third bird, depicted perching on Turan's shoulder, may serve to emphasise the birds' connection with love and courtship yet further.

Below the inner border of the mirror, above the tang, sits a baby. He holds in his hands the stems of the two vines which form the outer border of the mirror. His rounded torso and proportionally large head along with the three *bullae* which he wears confirm that he is in fact a baby, but he is clearly no ordinary one.[13] His facial features are not those of an infant, for they seem quite developed and mature. This baby too is bald, yet his baldness is not that of the newly born, for he does have some hair. Rather, his is clearly male pattern baldness. This is unquestionably a baby with the facial features of an adult. The vine stems which he holds in his hands, as well as his position beneath the main scene on the mirror, and below Malavisch's seat and the ground upon which the birds stand, may also serve to evoke some association with the earth. Could this baby be Tages? If he is, the vines may also hint at his prophetic capacity, for they encircle the mirror and are about to intertwine at the top, while at the bottom it is the infant himself who joins the two stems together. If the baby is Tages, then the iconography of the whole mirror would be quite coherent. The seated Malavish is being prepared by Turan's attendants; the birds in the exergue below allude to the courtship that is to follow; while, further below still, Tages prophesies the joining (sexual, or in marriage) that will eventually ensue. Not only therefore does the infant's physical appearance accord perfectly well with the literary evidence for Tages', but the presence of Tages on this mirror is also readily explicable. There is, consequently, every reason to suspect that this particular child may very well be Tages.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this suggestion. Firstly, if the mirror in the British Museum does depict Tages, then it provides some support for the version of the myth found in the literary

sources. Secondly, unless the existence of substantial variation in the tradition and within a relatively short period of time is to be imagined, the suggestion also undermines considerably the theory that the mirror from Tuscania shows the teaching of Tarchon by Tages. Some have indeed already doubted that Tages is depicted on that mirror; the argument put forward here, if it is persuasive, offers a further reason to abandon the old hypothesis.

NOTES

1 The key sources are: Lyd. *de Ost. prae*. 2-3, Cic. *de div*. 2.50-51, 2.80, and Ovid *Met*. 15.552-559; further references in Wood 1980, 325 n. 1; Weinstock 1932.

2 E.g. Lyd. *de Ost. prae*. 3: ἀναδοθῆναι γὰρ τοῦ αὔλακος παιδίον, ἄρτι μὲν τεχθῆναι δοκοῦν, ὀδόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γνωρισμάτων ἀπροσδεές. ('From the furrow came forth a child who appeared to be newly born but who did not lack teeth and the other signs of maturity.'); Strabo 5.2.2: ... διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων σύνεσιν πολιὸν γεγεννῆσθαι μυθεύουσι. ('... on account of his sagacity from childhood they say he was born with grey hair.').

3 Rix 1991, 60-61, Ta 3.2 = *TLE* 156: *itun turuce venel atelinas tinas cliniiaras* ('Venel Atelinas gave this to the sons of Tina', i.e. the Dioscuri).

4 Cic. *de div*. 2.50: *...ut in libris est Etruscorum...*' ('... as it is in the books of the Etruscans...'), 2.51: '*haec accepimus ab ipsis, haec scripta conservant*... ('We received these things from the Etruscans themselves, they preserve these writings...'); cf. Torelli 1975, 186 n. 1: 'Caecina?'; Hohti 1975, 429.

5 Lyd. *de Ost. prae*. 3: Τάρχων... ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσενήνεκται... ('Tarchon... as he introduces himself in his writing...').

6 Rix 1991, 2:347, AT S.11. Much has been written on this mirror; for a discussion of the various arguments, see most recently Torelli 1988; Pairault Massa 1992, 143-145; Van der Meer 1995, 97-100; Leighton 2004, 76-77; note too Sowder 1982, 119-120, 123.

7 Cf. Van der Meer 1995, 100: '... Avl(e) has removed his hat. From the iconographical point of view Pavatarchies should be considered as teacher and Avl(e) Tarchunus as disciple'; Leighton 2004, 76: '...the youthful figure... Pavatarchies, is a novice haruspex'; Torelli 1988, 111, 114. *Pace* Wood 1980, 335 who thinks Pavatarchies and Tarchunus wear the hats of *flamines*.

8 Rix 1991, 1:172-173; *Thesaurus Linguae Etruscae* I, 331; Tarchetios: Plut. *Rom*. 2.3-6, on which see Wiseman 1995, 57-61.

9 Rix 1991, 2:357, OI S.38; *ES* 213.

10 Rix 1991, 2:347, 357-358, Ta S.15, AT S.6, OI S.30, S.36, S.48; *ES* 2:214, 2:215, 2:216, 5:85.2; Van der Meer 1985, Abb.1-6; Sowder 1982, 116.

11 Beazley 1949, 10: '...perhaps a bride...'; Sowder 1982, 116 and n. 95; Wiman 1992, 97, 100: '... the Etruscan word *Malavisch* may be interpreted as an Etruscan personification or symbol for the concept of "the preparation of the bride"'; Van der Meer 1985; 1995, 201-203.

12 Mansuelli 1948, 74; Sowder 1982, 116; Wiman 1992. The inclusion of Munthuch and Zip[n]a in the scene may support the interpretation, cf. Sowder 1982, 118-119, 128.

13 And he is clearly not *Hercle, pace* Wiman 1992, 99.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 111-132. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033102.

A Roman cult in the Italian countryside? The *Compitalia* and the shrines of the *Lares Compitales*

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Abstract

The Roman religious festival of the Compitalia *('cross-roads festival') was celebrated in both city and countryside. It is generally assumed that it originated as a rural cult which was later incorporated in the city, where it became the principal festival of the* vici *or urban quarters. In this paper it will be argued that the spread of the* Compitalia *might have been in the opposite direction; in this view the* Compitalia*, a Roman urban festival with administrative aspects, was spread outside Rome alongside Roman influence. It is not known where the* Compitalia *were celebrated in the countryside. It will be suggested that ancient 'Italic' sanctuaries have been re-used for celebrating the Roman rite of the* Compitalia*, apparently by now functioning within a Roman administrative and religious system.**

the separation between city cult and family or farm cult should not be exaggerated (Beard/North/Price 1998, 50)

INTRODUCTION. THE *COMPITALIA*: A PARADOXICAL PICTURE

At the end of a letter to Atticus (2.3), Cicero writes, probably from his country house, after having referred to the political situation in Rome and Cicero's own position within it: *sed haec ambulationibus Compitaliciis reservemus. Tu pridie Compitalia memento. Balineum calfieri iubebo. Et Pomponiam Terentia rogat; matrem adiungemus* ('But this point must be reserved for our strolls at the *Compitalia*. Do you remember the day before the festival: I will order the bath to be heated, and Terentia is going to invite Pomponia. We will make your mother one of the party').[1] In this way, Cicero informs us on how he imagines spending the *Compitalia* or cross-roads festival, writing as it seems in December of the year 60 BC. The impression that arises, on a private level, is that of a relaxed holiday, with time for family and friends alike.

At the same time, the moveable feast of the *Compitalia* constituted the most important religious festival associated with the *vici* or wards of Rome. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in the Augustan period, the festival was installed together with the urban *vici* as a means of administrative control, in order to be able to count the inhabitants of Rome. Other evidence confirms this public or civic character of the festival. Apparently, the *Compitalia* were relevant both to what we would define the 'private' and to the 'public' domain.

Another paradoxical aspect regards the location of the *Compitalia*. The festival is often associated with the urban *plebs*, and therefore placed in an urban setting. On the other hand, passages in Roman authors refer to a rustic setting of the *Compitalia*. Modern historiography has subsequently translated this situation in various ways. Most popular is the conception of the *Compitalia* as a festival of agricultural or rural origin which was only later incorporated in the city. Not much attention has been paid to the celebration of the *Compitalia* in the countryside however. Most disturbingly, it is actually not known in what places the festival was celebrated in the countryside.

The aim of this contribution is to delineate a possible historical development of the *Compitalia* and to shed light on its rural cult places, by reviewing these apparent oppositions of public vs. private and urban vs. rural. The conception of this development proposed here may have consequences for current ideas on the 'religious romanisation' of Italy, the very existence of which tends to be minimised in recent studies.[2]

After a short introduction of the *Compitalia* the attention will be focused on three main aspects:

1) In the first place, the character of the community that participated in the cult will be discussed. Often, the *Compitalia* are seen as 'very much a family-affair'.[3] On the other hand there

seems to be a strong civic or public aspect to the festival. The relevant textual evidence will be discussed, and it will be argued that this 'double' image of public and private emerges from the archaeological record as well. It will be suggested that it is precisely this all-embracing quality of the *Compitalia*, cutting through these distinctions and including all inhabitants, that distinguishes it from other festivals.

2) Secondly, the location of the celebration of the *Compitalia* as indicated in literature and epigraphy will be considered. The situation for both city and countryside will be surveyed. Here, the issue of the presumed rural origin of the *Compitalia* comes up. It will be shown that the evidence for a development from an agricultural, rural cult to an urban Roman cult is meagre. As regards the evidence for the spread of the *Compitalia* in Italy at least, a development in the opposite direction is proposed. It will be argued that the *Compitalia* could have been exported from Rome to other areas influenced or inhabited by Romans at least as early as the second half of the 2nd century BC.
3) In the third place, the argument on the location of the *Compitalia* will be directed further to the cult places themselves: what exactly constituted a *compitum*-shrine, and where were they located? Several urban *compitum*-shrines have been unearthed, and their different architectural forms will be discussed briefly. The rural cult places where the *Compitalia* were celebrated in the countryside have never been identified however. It will be suggested that the problematic description in a scholion on Persius has distracted scholarly research on the shrines of the *Lares Compitales* from the question where the *Compitalia* were actually celebrated. Tentatively, it will be argued that ancient rural sanctuaries built by 'Italic' peoples were suitable sacred places to be re-used later within a Roman religious, social and political system. There is evidence to suggest that some of the resumed or continued religious activities in ancient 'Italic' sanctuaries related to the *Compitalia*.

THE FESTIVAL OF THE *COMPITALIA*

The *Compitalia* consisted of sacrifices at *compita* (cross-roads and by extension the shrines placed there; from *competere* or 'coming together' cf. *infra*) and games, the *ludi Compitalicii*. Certainly, meals were part of the festival,[4] and as has been seen Cicero muses on strolls.[5] The *Compitalia* were part of the *feriae conceptivae*; that is the festivals that had no fixed date but were to be established anew each year. At least in the Late Republic, they were announced eight days beforehand, in December, by the praetor.[6] Normally, the *Compitalia* were celebrated some days after the *Saturnalia* (17 December), probably most often at the very end of December or the beginning of January.[7]

As to the cult personnel, *magistri* who were allowed to wear the *toga praetexta* presided over the *Compitalia*.[8] For the rustic environment, Cato (*Agr*. 5.3) informs us on the *modus operandi* at the ideal villa: the bailiff (*vilicus*) of the agricultural enterprise could assume the presiding role over the activities on behalf of his master.[9]

In the literary tradition, the origin of the *Compitalia* is connected to the creation of the four urban regions by King Servius Tullius (cf. *infra*). Historically on some firmer ground, it appears that colleges of *magistri* that organised the *Compitalia* in Rome became a focus of popular political activity around the middle of the last century BC. Fear for 'subversive' political activities and riots of the *collegia* that were made up mainly of freedmen and slaves can explain the suppression of the *collegia* and the connected *ludi Compitalicii* in 64 BC by the senate.[10] The consequent attempts, not always successful, to re-establish them attest to the political struggles of this period.

It was exactly this political connotation, and association with the *plebs*, that made the cult at the *compita* of each *vicus* an attractive focus of attention for Augustus.[11] Between 12 and 7 BC Augustus restructured the city in fourteen urban regions and an unknown number of *vici*.[12] A number of 265 *vici* becomes clear from the census of 73 AD.[13] The objects of veneration were two *Lares* who are now associated with the *Genius Augusti*.[14]

In this way, the *compita* were effectively used to disseminate the emperor cult over a wide and specifically popular audience. It is often assumed that Augustus deliberately revived and promoted the *Compitalia* in order to bring the emperor cult (in the form of the *genius*) amongst the people also in the realest sense: absorbing him, as it were, between the ancestors.[15] In the same vein, Augustus rededicated the old temple of the *Lares in summa Sacra Via*.[16] The Augustan reform is important here, because all evidence dating after 12-7 BC may have been influenced by it.

Having introduced the *Compitalia*, a festival with possibly archaic origins, which was organised by *magistri* (*vicorum*) and centred upon *compita*, the cult places of the *vici*, it is time to turn to some specific elements of the ritual and the festival.

1. AN INTEGRATIVE CULT

For any analysis of its social and political significance, it is of central importance to ask to which group in society the *Compitalia* catered. Delineating the 'community of cult' is also pivotal for the question in what type of cult places the *Compitalia* could be celebrated (cf. *infra* §3). Although some sources direct us towards a conception of the *Compitalia* as a largely family-oriented festival, other evidence suggests a wider audience. Sometimes, these different locales have been interpreted as indicative of a distinction between a public and a private cult.

'Private': a family affair?

Let us first review briefly the argument for the *Compitalia* as a family cult. At least in later times it seems that the *Lares Compitales* were assimilated with deified souls of the dead, or gods of the underworld, as Festus says.[17] To some, it has appeared that this aspect of veneration of the dead should be linked to an ancestor cult.[18] In this way, the *Compitalia* would come close to a cult that is centred on the family. Other arguments have been brought to the fore as well to sustain the thesis that the *Compitalia* were essentially a family occasion: The presence of altars to the *Lares* and mural paintings documenting scenes associated with the *Compitalia* inside some houses on Delos may at first sight corroborate such an interpretation (but cf. *infra*).

Also, drawing broad comparisons ('as our New Year's day follows Christmas, so a short time after the *Saturnalia* the Romans enjoyed a second period of feasting and goodwill'), Howard Scullard emphasises that the *Compitalia* 'still remained very much a family affair'.[19] In order to lend weight to his argument, Scullard points out that Cicero did not want to disturb Pompey at his Alban villa during the *Compitalia*. Cicero indeed declares that he wanted to arrive one day later because he did not want to intrude in family affairs (*ne molestus familiae veniam*).[20]

It can be argued however that this argument is not valid. Firstly, reference is made here to a social group that in all probability did not define itself primarily through neighbourhood connections, as is in fact already pointed out by Pompey's leisure in his villa in the country during the *Compitalia*. Secondly, Cicero is known to have been extremely attentive not to disturb his hosts. For example, he was ridiculed for his preference to use *deversoria*, his own small inns, where he rested during his travel to his *villae*, instead of staying at befriended elite persons in the countryside, - as was common practice according to the custom of capitalising personal *hospitia*.[21] But Cicero insisted - in almost literally the same words - because he would rather avoid in this way to disturb his hosts '*ne semper hospiti molestus sim*'.[22]

Leaving this last argument, maybe of too an anecdotal character to be seriously considered, aside, it is however possible to conclude that the evidence for a 'familial' aspect, however present, is not very strong and has no exclusive character. There are indications to regard the principal group involved in the *Compitalia* as a somewhat larger unit.

'Public': the origin of the Compitalia *according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus*

Indeed, there is evidence that the *Compitalia* had a public character. In the first place, the fact that a praetor announced the festival underscores its public and civic character.[23] However, the most important source for the apparently 'public' character of the *Compitalia* is Dionysius of Halicarnassus. According to this Greek author writing in the Augustan period, the *Compitalia* were closely bound up with the administration of inhabitants in the city. King Servius Tullius (trad. 575-535 BC) is evoked as the instigator of the festival that actually resulted as a corollary of the division of the city into four regions.[24]

> And he ordered that the citizens inhabiting each of the four regions should, like persons living in villages, neither take up another abode nor be enrolled elsewhere; and the levies of troops, the collection of taxes for military purposes, and the other services which every citizen was bound to offer to the commonwealth, he no longer based upon the three national tribes, as aforetime, but upon the four local tribes established by himself. And over each region he appointed commanders, like heads of tribes or villages, whom he ordered to know what house each man lived in. After this he commanded that there should be erected in every street (στενωπούς) by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood chapels (καλιάδας) to heroes whose statues stood in front of the houses (ἥρωσι προνωπίοις), and he made a law that sacrifices should be performed to them every year, each family contributing a honey-cake [..] This festival the Romans still continued to celebrate even in my day in the most solemn and sumptuous manner a few days

after the *Saturnalia*, calling it the *Compitalia*, after the streets (στενωπῶν); for *compita* is their name for streets.

The sequence Dionysius employs is worthy of attention: king Servius begins with the establishment of four regions (or tribes), in which people are obliged to be enlisted for the military levy and the collection of taxes. Then the king proceeds by establishing 'commanders' who administered the whereabouts of the population. Only after this, Servius turns to the religious component of his reform: the erection of shrines in front of the houses and the institution of a yearly ritual, the *Compitalia*. According to Dionysius therefore - and this is of central importance - the *Compitalia* were devised as a means to establish cohesion between the people that had happened to end up in the same administrative units.

At the same time the *Compitalia* appear as a means to count the inhabitants of each district. This could be distilled from the already mentioned account by Festus, in which it is described that during the night before the *Compitalia* woollen puppets were suspended from the *compita*. Each member of the *compitum* community had to be represented: the free men and women with male and female woollen puppets (*effigies*) and woollen balls (*pilae*) for slaves.[25] Leaving aside questions on the rather shadowy origins of this rite,[26] the significance of the rite as a possible means to register the number of inhabitants is clear. For just as in the *Paganalia*, where people, according to Dionysius, could be recognised by the donation of different coins, the *pilae* and *effigies* (as well as the cakes) of the *Compitalia* could serve well as an indication of the number of people living in each unit. The presence of a similar rite in the two festivals, which are both linked to the administration of the Roman population, can be no coincidence.[27]

This possible administrative aspect mentioned by Festus and Macrobius can perhaps be traced in the material record.[28] In Pompeii, representations of puppets hanging from the altars are indeed documented (*figs. 1a-b*).[29] On stylistic grounds Thomas Fröhlich assigns none of these particular paintings to before the Augustan period.[30] One painting however that shows puppets is dated to the early Augustan period, around 20 BC.[31] If Fröhlich's date is trustworthy this is significant, since it would attest to the practice of hanging puppets prior to the Augustan reforms, otherwise only known from fairly late writers.[32]

Whether or not the origin of this festival may be traced so far back as the time of Servius Tullius

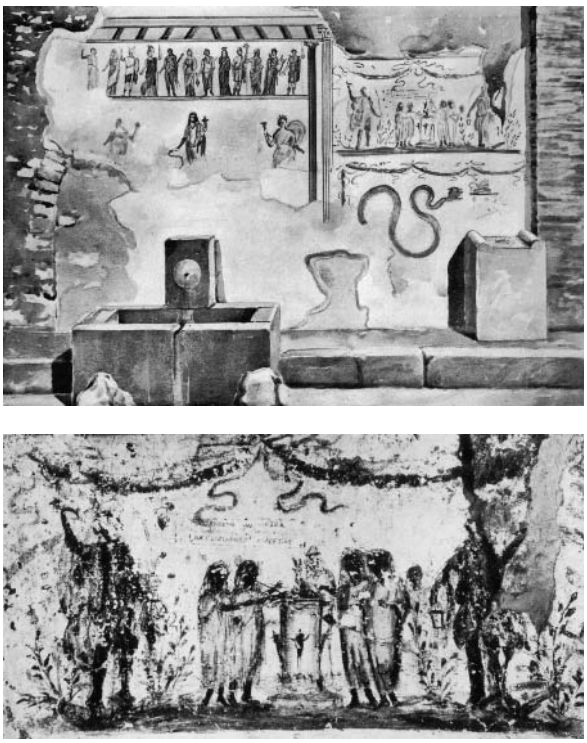

Fig. 1 a and b. Painted compitum with hanging puppets from altar, Pompeii at crossroads (Via dell'Abbondanza, SW corner of Ins. IX, 11) (Spinazzola 1953 p. 178 fig 216 and p. 179 fig. 217).

is a question to which no satisfactory answer can be expected,[33] but the point to be made here is that religious rituals could play an explicit role in consolidating state control. Dionysius could apparently understand the installation of a cult and festival rather straightforwardly as a deliberate means to integrate people.

Vicus *and* compitum

Certainly, the *Compitalia* brought the people from a defined neighbourhood together. The *Compitalia* are generally considered to be the festival par excellence that was celebrated in the *vici* and was organised *vicatim*. But what was this relationship between *vicus* and *Compitalia* precisely? The connection with the *vicus* becomes clear from the associations in texts and the context of the relevant passages, but is stated explicitly by Asconius when he assigns a role to *magistri vicorum* in the organisation of the *ludi Compitalicii*.[34] The passage by Pliny the Elder commenting on the division of the city sustains this connection: *ipsa dividitur in*

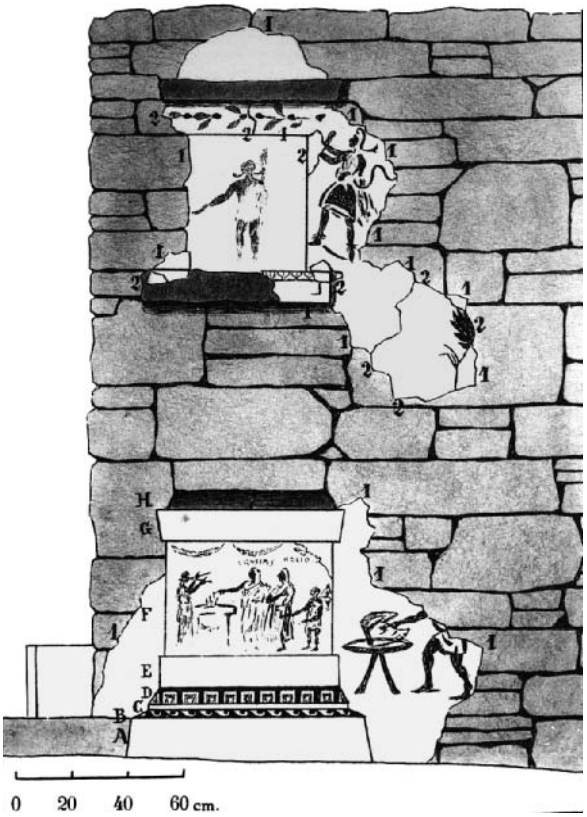

Fig. 2 a and b. Delos, painted altar indicating a sacrifice ritu romano *(Bulard 1926b pl. XVII and XXIV).*

regiones XIIII, compita Larum CCLXV.[35] Apparently, *compita* could be used as a metaphor or rather as a pars pro toto for the urban *vici*. At Pompeii a *collegium* of *magistri vici et compiti* is documented by a text painted on a tufa block and dated to 47 and 46 BC.[36] This juxtaposition seems to indicate that the tasks of a *magister vici* included, or could include, the maintenance of the *compitum*.[37] In Dionysius' account, the ambiguity of the terms becomes clear as well: he states that 'κομπίτους γὰρ τοὺς στενωποὺς καλοῦσι'; 'for they call στενωποὺς *compita*'; στενωπός is the normal Greek translation of Latin *vicus*.[38]

'Private' and 'public' in city and countryside

Thus, for the city the connection between the organisation of the festival and the urban *vicus* is clear; it were *magistri* of these territorial districts that organised and presided over the event. It would be peculiar to assume that a 'family' cult was presided by (semi)-officials,[39] if not expressly to forge a connection between the (members of the) family and a larger entity. Without therefore rejecting the 'familial' aspect, which is undeniably present, it is perhaps better to understand the organisation of the *Compitalia* as an attempt to integrate family and society and to strengthen the ties between private and civic life, already intertwined so deeply.[40]

The situation in the countryside may seem different at first sight: in the villa imagined by Cato the *vilicus* took care of the extended household, of which the bailiff himself was part. Here then, it seems at first glance that the *Compitalia* indeed involved the household, or extended family, and not a larger group. Leaving the problems and degree of credibility of the Catonian villa for what they are, there are other reasons to doubt the 'family' character of the *Compitalia* at the villa. In the first place one could be inclined, at least from the late Republican period on, to regard the community of a large villa, both in population quantities, dimensions and maybe also in structural character, rather as a small *village* than as what one normally associates with the word *villa*. It is possible that this community was physically more or less self-contained, and that therefore further inclusion or integration with other civic structures was simply not feasible.[41] For an archaeological view on the questions around public and private, we now turn to the island of Delos.

Delos

The best material evidence with regard to the *Compitalia* in the Republican period is not to be found in Italy but on Delos. From the 3rd century BC onward this commercial centre, part of the Cyclades, was frequented by Romans and other people from Italy[42] and flourished especially after 166 BC, when it was declared a free harbour and put under the administration of Athens. Notwithstanding its specificity, it is in this context of a community of merchants from Italy that settled on

the island that the *Compitalia* come best in focus.

Wall-paintings in and on houses and chapels show sacrificial scenes and other aspects of the cult, and inscriptions in Greek mention the existence of a college of *kompetaliastai*.[43] At the so-called 'agora des compétaliastes', a temple was probably dedicated to the *Lares Compitales*.[44] The persons that feature in these inscriptions are slaves and freedmen, mostly from the Eastern Mediterranean. The people that are depicted are clearly Italians: they wear toga's (white and sometimes the purple-banded *praetexta*) and *calcei* at their feet. Moreover, they sacrifice *ritu romano* with veiled head (*figs. 2a-b*). The most plausible interpretation is therefore that the Greek and Eastern slaves and freedmen of the inscriptions were servants to Italian families.[45]

Because the paintings are located both in and outside the houses, the connection between the archaeological evidence and the epigraphical attestation of the *Compitalia* was not straightforward. Exemplary for the debate on the *Compitalia*, the paintings were first interpreted as a domestic cult of the *Lares Familiares*,[46] for, as the argument ran, the *Compitalia* were rather to be expected at cross-roads. Later this attribution was revised and the festival depicted at the doors was identified as the *Compitalia*, and its entirely public character stressed.[47]

Recently, Claire Hasenohr has opted for a more sophisticated solution, and concludes that the *Compitalia* on Delos were celebrated both on a 'private' level at the shrines near and in houses and on a more 'official' level at the temple of the *Lares* on the agora.[48] At this temple, the *kompetaliastai* would have made an official, communal sacrifice on behalf of the Italian community during the *Compitalia*.[49] This 'double célébration' could be explained by the particular socio-political conditions on Delos; the *Compitalia* would even have become a means of self-affirmation of the Italian community.[50] Apparently, the expatriated Romans and other Italians used the *Compitalia* in order to secure or re-affirm social relations, and it is presumable that this 'constructing' of the community by ritual was even more pronounced in this alien context.[51]

Italy

There is evidence to suggest that this 'double' nature of the *Compitalia* does not apply to Delos alone. Also in Pompeii a distinction between domestic *lararia* and the shrines outside the houses (and especially on the crossroads) has suggested a separation between the domestic cult of the *Lares Familiares*, and the public cult of the *Lares Compitales* linked with the administrative organisation of the city.[52] In the light of the Delian evidence however, Hasenohr questions this neat distinction. There are rather many altars - also in the same street - to be maintained by the *magistri*, and sometimes they seem to be related directly to the more important Pompeian *domus*. She suggests that at least some of the shrines outside the houses were put up by the inhabitants of these houses, rather than by the city administration.[53]

Also the literary sources indicate a varied location of the cult: whereas Festus states that the puppets were suspended from the *compita*, Macrobius locates them 'at every door'.[54] One passage of Cato may possibly be related to this diversification of location even more directly. In prescribing the responsabilities and duties of the *vilicus*, the bailiff, Cato states that he *rem divinam nisi compitalibus in compito aut in foco ne faciat*.[55] Most often, this is interpreted to mean something like: 'the *vilicus* must not partake in religious rituals, if not at the crossroads during the *Compitalia*, or at the domestic hearth'.[56]

But if we may understand that both *in compito* and *in foco* refer to *compitalibus*, which seems possible to me,[57] in this passage both aspects of the same cult, that of the family hearth and of the *compitum* community, are present. A possible translation would then be: 'the *vilicus* must not partake in religious rituals, if not during the *Compitalia*, [which he can perform] at the crossroads or at the domestic hearth'.[58] Then, the 'twofold' character of the *Compitalia* could not be summarised better; partly to be celebrated at the domestic hearth, partly at the local *compitum*, where the congregated community was somewhat larger, probably consisting of more family units together.

'Public' and 'private': or integration of both?

In conclusion, it is tempting to suppose that the *Compitalia* were celebrated in Italy in similarly diverse locales as documented for Delos. But one still has to remain cautious with the division in and distinction of 'public' or 'official' and 'private' or 'domestic' locales, which may seem to suggest the existence of two parallel but isolated worlds. I would therefore hesitate to define the diversity of the contexts in which the *Compitalia* were apparently celebrated as 'double'.[59] It is important to underscore that in no literary source on the *Compitalia* a distinction between location (*in compito*, *in foco*, *in compitis*, *in foribus*) is equated explicitly

with public versus private contexts. Ultimately, the matter is much too problematic to decide to which degree liturgical paintings in the atrium of a *domus*, or altars against the façade are to be considered private and to what extent a collegium or club of freedmen and slaves, certainly of the same houses, can be regarded 'public' or 'official', with the risk of projecting modern ideas of public and private upon probably different ancient realities.[60]

This is not to say that we have to leave the subject in aporia. Let us shift focus from the question on public and private to what actually seems to have happened: a festival being celebrated both in the open air, at open places, on the corners, in the streets and inside houses; the same rituals being performed both at a temple at the agora[61] and in front of the houses.

What appears is a clear image of a ritual of integration. Indeed, the ramification of the same rituals in diverse contexts engineers the integration of these contexts in one festival; and it seems that this constitutes the *pointe* in our dossier on the *Compitalia*. The already mentioned practice of hanging puppets and balls for every inhabitant on the *compita* and doors ties in with this integrative competence of the *Compitalia*. As has been underscored, the images could serve as an indication of the number of people living in each unit. And as Dionysius is so kind to inform us, this was - in his opinion - the very intention of the *Compitalia*. Again, the formation of a community becomes clear from this practice, a community that transcends, or more correctly includes, the level of the family.[62]

If the peculiarity of the Delian *Compitalia* lies not so much in their presence in different social contexts, it may be in two other, interrelated, aspects. In the first place, it is striking that a festival bound up intrinsically with the administrative division in *vici*, as becomes clear from the Italian evidence, is present in a context that evidently lacked such an administration. The decision of the Italians to take the festival with them to Delos was therefore in all probability a voluntary one. Apparently the festival was popular enough amongst and 'internalised' in many of the Italians by the time they came to Delos. The second striking aspect is the relatively early appearance in the archaeological record of this phenomenon: the *Compitalia* were already celebrated by the third quarter of the 2nd century BC.[63]

These considerations leave us with two options for a conclusion: if we believe Dionysius, the *Compitalia*, part and parcel of the administrative organisation of the city of Rome from their early beginnings on - possibly in the archaic period, or the 4th century BC, in relation with other administrative reforms - had by then been rooted so firmly in the annual cycle of festivals that they were celebrated independently from their administrative function. If, on the other hand, we hold that Dionysius' account reflects merely the reality at the time he was writing, and that his statement on the antiquity of the institution is just an example of the (unintentional) invention of tradition, one has to suppose that the *Compitalia* were originally just a popular festival that only later - maybe in the 1st century BC, under Caesar, and surely with Augustus[64] - acquired its administrative aspect (possibly together with its 'tradition').[65]

In conclusion, the following can be said on the character of the community of cult of the *Compitalia*. The often expressed argument, that the *Compitalia* were largely a family feast, might miss the point. Neither is it necessary to regard them exclusively as an official cult, extraneous to domestic cult.[66] The Delian evidence testifies to the celebration of the *Compitalia* in both contexts, as Hasenohr has made clear. The evidence from Italy, and especially the Catonian passage, may indicate that the Delian situation was not exceptional in this respect. At least in Rome and in Pompeii the *Compitalia* were associated with administrative and/or political concerns. However, it is not clear if this politico-administrative connection was present from the very beginnings, as Dionysius would have it, or was added at a later point in time. The evidence does not lead us further back than Caesar.[67] Whereas its politico-administrative dimension for this period remains obscure, it is certain that the *Compitalia* were already part of Romano-Italic society in the 2nd century BC. The festival could by then be used to consolidate and 'construct' the Romano-Italic community.[68] The *Compitalia* were essentially an integrative cult, inclusive rather than exclusive in character, being an official festival.[69]

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *COMPITALIA*: FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE TO THE CITY OR *VICE VERSA*?

'Das Fest trägt einen ländlichen Character', Georg Wissowa stated in 1901.[70] In both ancient and modern texts on the *Compitalia*, a contradictory image arises with regard to the locale of the *Compitalia*. On the one hand, rustic elements are emphasised, whereas on the other an urban setting is attested by both the rioting in the 60's and 50's BC and the association with the urban *plebs*, as well as the association with the administrative

division of the city. In order to make sense of this situation, maybe in combination with the assumption that the *Compitalia* rituals are of very ancient origin,[71] modern research has tended to conceptualise a development over time of the festival. This development would have encompassed the implementation or adaptation of a rural festival celebrated by agricultural communities in an urban context. Along these lines Scullard states: 'thus the state, as so often, developed its urban counterpart of what had originally been a country festival'.[72]

Potter follows this idea, and seems to imagine the introduction of the *Compitalia* in the city in a rather straightforward manner as a result of migration.[73] Although this conception of the development of the *Compitalia* is often present in studies on the subject, for example in the most recent exhaustive treatment of the Roman *vici* and their rituals,[74] actual evidence for such a development from rural to urban is absent.

It should be stressed that nowhere explicit mention is made of the *Compitalia* as an exclusively rustic cult. Festivals that are indeed clearly connected with the countryside are the festivals of the *Robigalia* (in order to protect the crops from blight), the *Fordicidia* (the sacrifice of a pregnant cow to *Tellus*), the *Cerealia* and *Vinalia*. The *Ambarvalia* (lustration of the fields) and the *Sementivae* (the sowing of the seed) seem to have catered even more exclusively to the countryside. In my view however, the *Compitalia* do not belong to this group.[75]

Of course there are instances of a rustic setting of the *Compitalia* (for example in Cicero, who documents the custom of some of the happy few to escape from the city during the *Compitalia*, and in Cato for the rituals at his ideal *villa*), which confirm that the *Compitalia* were celebrated outside the city as well. But they do not prove an anteriority of a supposedly 'rural *Compitalia*' with respect to a later urban variant.[76]

The archaeological evidence cannot prove a transition from rural to urban either. *Compitum*-shrines have been found exclusively in urban contexts in Rome, Delos, Pompeii and Ostia, the earliest dating to the 2nd century BC.[77] The identification of one extra-urban *compitum* at Tor de Cenci that would even go back as far as the 7th century BC is not very convincing, since this interpretation seems actually to rely on the sole fact that ritual remains (especially animal bones) and burials were found in connection with a crossroads.[78] I do not deny that such places could have had religious and/or ritual importance from early times on, but the existence of a *compitum* with the associated *Compitalia* is not attested here.

So the earliest archaeological evidence for the *Compitalia* relates to an urban setting,[79] and this urban connotation is secured for the last century of the Republic, and emphasised by Augustus.[80] Neither were the *Compitalia* an exclusively *stadtrömisches* festival however, since there is clear evidence that the *Compitalia* were celebrated in the countryside as well. At the same time it should be emphasised that all evidence relating to the *Compitalia* from outside the city of Rome is located without exception, both in time and space, in Roman contexts or in contexts strongly influenced by Rome.

Cato's passage, for example, cannot be related to traditional Italic countryside ritual: rather, he refers to a specific Roman situation in the countryside, the *villa*. Many aspects of the *Compitalia* are actually best attested for 'romanised' Campania,[81] and for Delos, equally under strong Roman influence.[82] Thus, the *Compitalia* were also celebrated outside the city of Rome, and also in areas with a large Italic component of the population, but influenced strongly, at least politically and apparently culturally, by Rome.

To sum up, on the basis of direct archaeological or textual evidence it is impossible to argue that the *Compitalia* evolved from a rural to an urban cult.[83] There is, in my view, no reason to exclude the possibility beforehand that the festival of the *Compitalia* was actually related in the first place to the Roman urban texture, and was only later transposed to other areas.

No evidence whatsoever can be related to pre-Roman or non-Roman Italic contexts. To be precise, this does not exclude the possibility that the *Compitalia* indeed had old agricultural roots before being incorporated in the city of Rome (maybe even during the urbanisation process itself), but I would suggest that the subsequent spread over Italy and beyond started from the urban model of Rome.

From the moment that the *Compitalia* were intrinsically associated with the institute of the *vicus*, one could propose that the development of the *Compitalia* was parallel to that of the *vicus*.[84] Now, Michel Tarpin has shown that the development of the *vicus* was essentially an urban Roman one, and the subsequent spread of this Roman institution in the Roman territory therefore basically depended on the urban model as well.[85] What is to be made of the *Compitalia*, keeping the administrative aspect of the *Compitalia* in mind? Could it be possible that the *Compitalia* were not

so much a harmless agricultural festival of the olden days, but were rather exported along with a new Roman administration of the conquered territories?[86]

3. THE *COMPITUM*-SHRINES: FORM AND LOCATION

It is time to take a look at the sacred place and its possible architectural elaboration itself. First the evidence for the actual physical location of the *compita* will be surveyed, and consequently their different physical aspects.

'Crossroads' and shrines

Some evidence regarding the location of the *compitum* has already been presented in the preceding analysis of the context of the *Compitalia* and will not be repeated here. In summary, it has become clear that the shrines where the festival was held were located both in the city of Rome and in the rest of Italy, and sometimes clearly outside urban structures. Generally, one speaks of the *Compitalia* as the festival of the 'crossroads'. The actual location however, is not unequivocal. The *OLD* gives as the meaning of *compitum* 'a place where three or more roads meet' (*fig. 3*). In almost every standard study on Roman religion the idea recurs that 'the Romans' believed every crossroad to be charged with spiritual energy, and this seems to derive from this specific understanding of *compitum*.[87]

A more precise definition of *compitum* specifies this 'crossroad' meaning however, in that it constitutes the place where different territories (*partes*) meet, which means that the shrines should not by definition be located at (a conjunction of) roads.[88] Placed on crossroads or not, they were in any case located at a central point, for they served as a meeting place for the inhabitants of a local group of people.

As has been seen this was the case in the cities, but this basic principle will not have been different in the countryside. This becomes clear, for example, from Cicero, according to whom the farmers and their dependants met at shrines *in fundi villaeque conspectu*.[89] More generally, it becomes clear that people of the land aggregated (*rustici celebrabant;*[90] *ubi pagani agrestes bucina convocati solent inire concilia*[91]) at these shrines, which underscores their communal function.

I believe it is difficult to arrive at a more precise identification of the places where the *Compitalia* were celebrated in the countryside on the basis of the cited sources.[92] Therefore, we will first discuss the much richer evidence of the urban contexts, and the physical forms the *compitum*-shrines could assume there. In the light of the conclusions on the urban contexts, we will return to the problem of the countryside shrines.

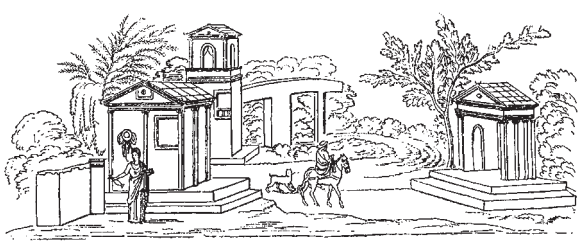

Fig. 3. A Pompeian painting with a compitum with chapels (Dar.-Sag. II, p. 1429 fig. 1887).

The location of compita *in the city*

Many *compitum*-shrines located in urban contexts have been identified, but they were not always, as the modern *vulgata* would have it, located at (every) crossroads. The *compita* found in Rome were located on streets and squares, and the only certain *compitum* of Ostia stands on a square, and in Delos *compitalia*-shrines were located both in streets in accordance with houses and on a square.[93] *Compita* at Pompeii[94] are located on streets and crossroads.[95] Whereas at Rome the *compitum* would constitute the cult centre for each *vicus*, this situation may have been different in Pompeii because the number of altars there is too high, and it has been suggested that the altars formed boundary markers of the *vicus*.[96] The idea exists that before the Augustan reform the number of *compitum*-shrines was much larger, and that Augustus reduced their number in order to avoid the uprisings associated with their personnel in the mid-1st century BC.[97] This could mean that the equalling of *vicus = compitum* by Pliny might represent the centralisation of the cult under Augustus.[98]

Architecture

Apart from its indicating a location, the word *compitum* could also mean the sacred structure sometimes present at this location.[99] Whereas some ancient written sources are rather enigmatic with respect to the physical appearance of the *compitum*-shrines, from archaeology a rather familiar image arises. The archaeological remains that can securely be identified as *compita* (by inscriptions or images of *Compitalia*-rites) do all point to

rather 'normal' shrines. Interestingly, there is a plethora of different forms of these *compitum*-shrines. In Pompeii most shrines that can be interpreted as a *compitum* consist of painted façades and/or masonry altars.[100] Delos also presents altars and/or paintings,[101] and there is one central *compitum*-shrine on the 'agora des compétaliastes', which had the aspect of a small round temple.[102]

In Rome some *compitum*-shrines have been unearthed.[103] One likely *compitum*-shrine has been identified in Via di S. Martino ai Monti.[104] It presents two phases, the most recent of which is dated by an inscription to the Augustan period.[105] The scarce remains of the pre-Augustan phase, not dated more precisely, consisted of a square structure of travertine blocks, possibly an altar. The Augustan phase presents a podium of tufa blocks lined with marble slabs and a flight of marble steps. Behind the podium was a large base, with another base or *cippus* on top, with the inscription. Although not much is known, the absence of evidence for a superstructure could suggest an open-air ('*sub divo*') shrine.

The *Compitum Acilium*, identified by an inscription from 5 BC mentioning *mag*(*istri*) *vici compiti Acili*, was found during the construction of the Via dei Fori Imperiali (*figs. 4a-b*).[106] Its architectural form is known quite well: a podium (2.80 x 2.38 x 1.40 m) lined with travertine slabs was accessible by a flight of four steps. On the rear part of the podium was a *cella*, in front two columns supported a roof.[107] In short, the aspect of this *compitum*-shrine is very much that of a small temple, although no altar was found in front of it.

An inscription mentioning the reconstruction of an *aedicula reg*(*ionis*) *VIII Vico Vestae* from 233 AD has been connected to a structure built against the *Atrium Vestae* on the forum.[108] The structure consists of a podium with two columns supporting a superstructure: indeed an *aedicula* or 'small temple'.[109] During the excavations led by Andrea Carandini on the Palatine, near the cross-roads of the *clivus Palatinus* and the *sacra via* some remains of *opus caementicium* have been identified as a *compitum*-shrine[110] similar to the *compitum Acilium*, although one should bear in mind that its beautiful full-colour reconstruction drawings rely rather on this last mentioned *compitum* than on the remains actually found.[111] On the basis of a rather direct association with the textual sources on the repression of the *collegia*, the construction of the *compitum* is ascribed to Clodius himself (!) 'per ingraziarsi il favore della plebe', and would therefore date to 58-53 BC.[112]

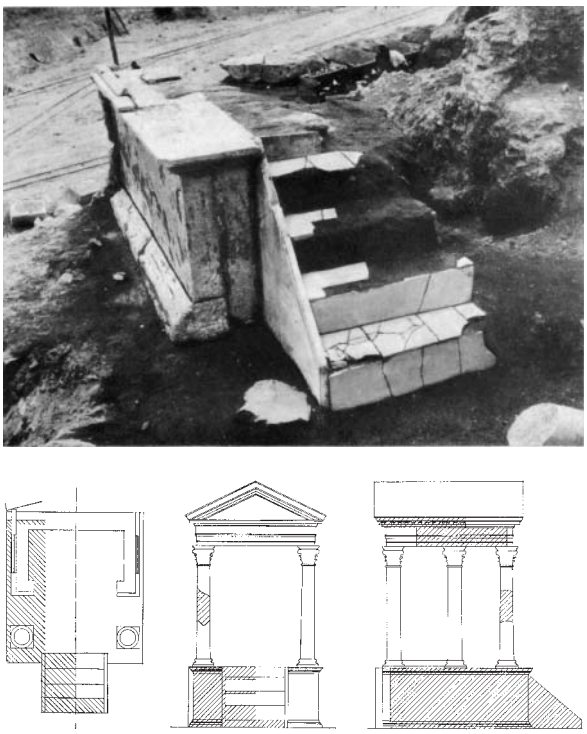

Fig. 4 a and b. The Compitum Acilium (Colini 1961-1962 p. 152 fig. 7 and p. 155 fig. 12).

In Ostia inscriptions attest to the existence of *compitum*-shrines there,[113] but the only architectural remains which can be related securely to a *compitum*-shrine consist of the marble altar at the Piazza dei Lari.[114] The round altar was dedicated to the *Lares Vicin*[*ales*] by a *magister* or *magistri*.[115] Directly south of the altar is a basin, north of the altar is a building with several entrances (some closed off in later periods). J.T. Bakker thinks this building behind the altar is connected with the altar (*fig. 5*), and that the ensemble would form a *compitum*-shrine/building, relating the entrances to the somewhat enigmatic qualifications in ancient authors of *compita* as '*pervia*' or '*pertusa*'.[116] In this respect, Bakker follows L.A. Holland in her interpretation of Persius' story of a miser who, celebrating the *Compitalia*, *iugum pertusa ad compita figit*. The scholiast on Persius explains that it was the custom that farmers fixed broken yokes to the *compitum* as a sign of completed agricultural labour, or because the instrument was considered sacred.[117] Holland points out that a yoke does not break easily, and that something else is meant: that the *iugum* refers to a sacred structure that was fixed in the ground, maybe two uprights and a crossbeam, forming some sort of symbolic sacred

gate.[118] Bakker thinks that the structure north of the altar on the Piazza dei Lari at Ostia 'with its many wide entrances, is actually to be understood as consisting of six gates, and that it belongs to the class of the *pervia compita*'.[119] This would correspond to the description of the scholiast on Persius, who emphasises that *compita* could be accessible from all four sides,[120] and that they were *quasi turres*; 'almost towers'.[121]

A suggestive description by Dolabella, in the course of an explanation on how to establish boundaries within his general guidelines for land surveyors has often been related to *compita*:

> Boundaries relating to shrines ought to be examined in the following way. If the shrine is positioned where four boundaries meet and establishes the boundary for four properties, look for four altars; moreover the shrine has four entrances so that anyone can enter through his own land to conduct a sacrifice...Now, if the shrine is between three properties, it has three entrances, if between two, then it has two entrances.[122]

In a manuscript dating to the late 9th century AD (Gud. lat. 105) an illustration of this quadrilateral sanctuary is given (*fig. 6*).

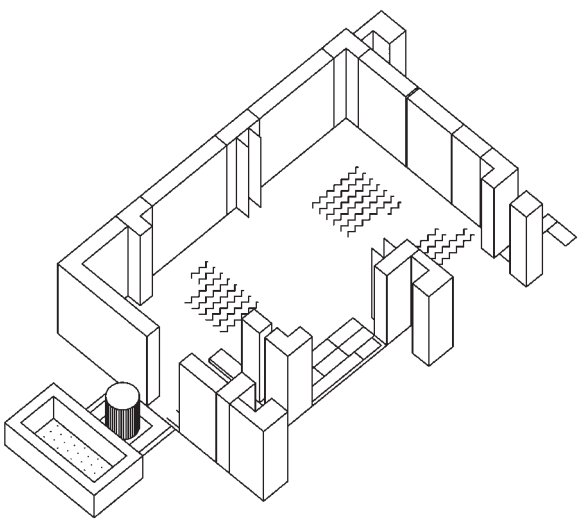

Fig. 5. A 'compitum pervium' at Ostia? (Bakker 1994, p. 119 fig. 17).

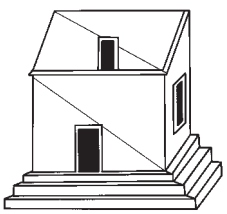

Fig. 6. Illustration of Dolabella's text in Gudianus manuscript (drawing René Reijnen after Campbell 2000 p. 310 ill. 200).

This illustration cannot be dated with certainty. The Gudianus manuscript is a copy of a copy of an illustrated manuscript of the early 9th century (Pal. lat. 1564). Although it seems plausible that some illustrations to the gromatic texts served a didactical purpose, and may date to the period of the writers collected in the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, it is impossible to determine the date of the illustrations with any precision. In any case, they will probably have been altered in the process of copying.[123]

Wissowa thought Dolabella's text described a *compitum*: 'An diesen Compitalsacella wird alljährlich die Festfeier der Compitalia abgehalten, aber auch sonst bilden sie für die umwohnenden Landleute den sacralen Mittelpunkt.' However, nowhere in Dolabella's text is stated explicitly that a *compitum* is meant; rather, it is surprising that the word is not mentioned.[124]

Perhaps with the exception of Ostia, a structure fitting the descriptions of Persius' scholiast and Dolabella has never been attested archaeologically. Moreover, one has to be careful not to read too much into the scholion on Persius either. The word *pertusa* used by Persius could also have been used to indicate the 'shabbiness' of the structure: *pertusa* in the sense of 'rotten' or 'perforated': such is the interpretation by Walter Kissel, who states that the interpretation of the scholiast of *pertusa* ('*quia per omnes quattuor partes pateant*') is 'weder sprachlich noch sachlich akzeptabel: Für *pertundere* bzw. *pertusus* lässt sich nirgendwo die wertneutrale Bedeutung "offen" nachweisen [..] Richtiger wird man *pertusa* daher in seiner gängigen Bedeutung "durchlöchert" fassen [..] und auf den ruinösen Zustand des *sacellum* beziehen.'[125] Actually, the scholiast gives this option himself: '*pertusa*; because it is open on all four sides or because it is old': *vel vetusta*.[126]

The interpretation of *pertusa* as indicating the shabbiness rather than the architecture of the structure would also fit quite well in the context of Persius' satirical description of a pinchpenny.[127] Although, then, the explicit explanation of 'open on all four sides' could be dismissed, the Calpurnian *compita pervia* remain.[128] Calpurnius does not describe unequivocally the *shrines* however; it could well be that *compitum* is used here in the sense of 'cross-roads',[129] and if indeed a shrine is intended, *pervia* could as well just indicate an association with the *location* of the shrine. Maybe it is best here, in the absence of conclusive archaeological and textual evidence, to leave the 'class of the *pervia compita*' for what it is.

Indeed, from other literary evidence, it becomes

clear that the discrepancy between archaeology and texts need not to be so impressive in the end. From both inscriptions and texts appears that a *compitum* could be called *sacellum*, a freestanding altar with an enclosure (*saeptum*), or *aedicula*. An *aedicula* is literally a 'small temple', but can designate also other sacred structures or realities, such as a chapel containing a statue.[130] Actually, the variety of architectural forms apparent from the archaeological evidence finds direct confirmation in the description of *compita* by Philargyrius on Vergil's *Georgics* 2.382: *compita ... sive is cum ara sive sine ara, sive sub tecto sive sub di(v)o sit*: 'be it with or without (permanent) altar, with or without roof'.

It is this freedom in the choice of what structure or place to use to celebrate the *Compitalia* that I would like to stress here. For above all, both archaeological and literary sources suggest that the *compitum*-shrine had no uniform architectural form.[131] Apparently, the physical appearance did not matter very much, as long as the place could fulfil its ritual functions. This observation is important for the following.

The absence of compita *in the countryside*

From both the literary and the epigraphical evidence it has become clear that the *Compitalia* were also celebrated in the countryside of Italy, and that there were indeed *compitum*-shrines.[132] However, in the whole of Italy none has been found.[133]

In one of the very few studies on agricultural cults in the countryside, Claudia Lega notes this discrepancy between the literary sources that mention various rural and agricultural cults, and the silence from archaeology.[134] In a situation like this, two options are usually put forward; the first is that archaeology has not yet provided, or is in general unable to provide, positive evidence of the rural or agricultural cults. The other is that the textual sources are wrong.

Without doubt, the most logical conclusion in this case is to blame the poor state of archaeological knowledge or even its fundamental inability to furnish this evidence. Thus, according to Lega, these rites are just archaeologically invisible, because probably 'si svolgessero su un altare provvisorio innalzato presso i campi e [che] le offerte fossero unicamente doni in natura. Questo spiegherebbe la perdita totale delle testimonianze archeologiche. Gli stessi *compita*, dove, come si è detto, gli abitanti delle zone agricole circostanti si recavano a celebrare la fine del raccolto, dovevano essere per la maggior parte strutture in materiale deperibile o piccole costruzioni andate completamente distrutte' (underscore TS).[135]

It is indeed perfectly possible that the absence of archaeological evidence indicates that these cults did not leave traces. Maybe it is fairer to say that there might still be some archaeological remains, but that until now nothing was found. That not even one rural *compitum*-shrine has been found, should then be explained as coincidental. Still, it is somewhat surprising that a rite that apparently was celebrated by the whole population of Roman Italy did not leave any material trace.

This is odd, especially because inscriptions from Italy record elements that clearly do not belong to perishable constructions: apart from the rather explicit inscription mentioning *compitum ex saxo fecere*,[136] an inscription dated 1 BC from Verona mentions the rebuilding of a *compitum* with a *tectum*, *parietes*, *valvae* and *limen*.[137] Another inscription, from Picenum, records the building of a *crepidinem circum cumpitum tectum pertextum*: a podium or sidewalk (*crepido*) around a *compitum* and the roof of the *compitum* from the end of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 1st century BC.[138] From Beneventum comes an inscription recording the building of a *porticum cum apparatorio et compitum*.[139]

At least the first two seem to suggest the form of a small temple. Although it is impossible to be sure about the urban or extra-urban location of these examples (maybe the *compitum* from Picenum could be extra-urban, but this is not sure, whereas the *compitum* from Beneventum seems, because of its relation with a *lustratio* of a *pagus*, definitely extra-urban), it shows at least that *compitum*-shrines in different areas of Italy were not inferior to those of Rome as regards architectural elaboration. Just to put things in perspective: most 'normal' temples in Italy do not yield any, let alone more elaborate inscriptions than the ones just cited.

Now, as has been said above, normally the answer to a discrepancy between archaeology and literary sources is to blame one of the two of 'being wrong'. But maybe there is a third option, and that is to ask whether we are looking for the right model, or rather: for the right structures. The (literary) discussion on the scholion on Persius with its fascinating '*turres*' and multiple entrances, and moreover the *iugum*, and the consequent quest to retrieve this structure archaeologically may have attracted too much attention, without leaving room for other possibilities.

Fig. 7. Lar Compitalis *from the Lucanian sanctuary of Torre di Satriano (Osanna/Sica 2005, p.456 fig. 125).*

Fig. 8. Lamp from the Samnite sanctuary of San Giovanni in Galdo, Colle Rimontato; lamps feature often in the Roman phases of sanctuaries. (excavations A. Di Niro; photo A. Dekker).

There is of course a danger in reasoning from silence. But we could ask ourselves what places were most eligible for the celebration of the *Compitalia*, or, as Philargyrius states, the places *ubi pagani agrestes bucina convocati solent inire concilia*; the places 'where the rural population, called together by a horn, used to meet'.[140] Once one is not looking for a tower-like structure with multiple entrances, but accepts that virtually all known bigger *compitum*-shrines bore close resemblance to, or simply were, small temples, another option comes into view. Although as yet no conclusive evidence can be presented, I would make the cautious suggestion that the *Compitalia* could have been, in part, celebrated at the 'Italic' sanctuaries dispersed over the Italian countryside.

This type of sanctuary, often of modest dimensions, formed the meeting place of old for the rural population. Located mostly in rural places, these public sanctuaries were important for the pre-Roman peoples of Italy for socio-political as well as religious purposes, and indeed performed a pivotal role within Italic society.[141] One could imagine that at least some of the pre-existing sanctuaries could have been adapted to serve this new purpose for the community, together with smaller altars or shrines of which virtually no trace has been left. It is also possible that new sanctuaries were erected if necessary.[142] Perhaps strengthening this suggestion is the fact that in some 'Italic' temples evidence for a later *Lares*-cult has been found. In the Italic sanctuary at Torre di Satriano which flourished in the 4th to 3rd centuries BC in Lucanian territory for example, a statuette of a *Lar* and the introduction of oil lamps in the sanctuary have been connected with a cult of the *Lares* and/or *Mater Larum* in Roman times.[143] The oil lamps would be explained by the fact that the *Lares* cult was held *noctu*, as Festus states. The statuette, dated to the second or third quarter of the 1st century AD, indeed follows the iconography of a *Lar Compitalis*, dancing and with a *rhyton* in one hand, a *patera* in the other (*fig. 7*).[144] Suggestive in this regard is that also in many other 'Italic' sanctuaries oil lamps of the Roman period have been found (*fig. 8*).[145]

Although archaeological research has tended to neglect the later phases of Italic sanctuaries (which are often not even or only summarily published), a large number of these sanctuaries were frequented in the Roman period as well. The character of this use in Roman times is poorly understood. If the suggestion is right that the 'rural' *Compitalia* could have been celebrated here at least in some cases, the interpretation of the reuse or even revival of Italic sanctuaries in the Roman period would become more facetted.

An inscription from Atina perhaps commemorating a dedication to the typical Italic goddess Mefitis and the *Lares* would be especially interesting as an illustration of the complexity of the

processes at work.[146] Aspects of the discussion on continuity and change between pre-Roman and Roman period would come to mind: for example, the shift to the dedication of oil lamps in the Roman period attests to different cult practices, whereas continuity could be seen in the place of worship.

Vicus *and sanctuary*

Perhaps, the strong relationship attested between some sanctuaries and rural *vici* could suggest that the festival associated with the institution of the *vicus* par excellence was celebrated there. Sanctuaries in the internal Italic regions have often been described as '*vicus*' sanctuaries (here in the meaning of 'village' rather than urban ward) or '*pagus*' sanctuaries, the *pagus* being a territorial district.[147] The general idea is that sanctuaries fulfilled a central social and political role in the rural areas, in the absence of urban amenities such as the forum.

To indicate such a 'typically Italic' rural system with dispersed farms and villages the term 'sistema paganico-vicano' *vel sim*. has been coined. However, recent studies have problematised both *pagus* and *vicus* as reflecting pre-Roman concepts as well as the relation between the two.[148] It seems in fact probable that both *pagus* and *vicus* were rather Roman institutions meant to administer the conquered territory.

This would implicate that the sanctuaries related to *vici*, that are documented already for the 3rd century BC, served 'Roman' (or 'romanised') communities rather than 'indigenous Italic' groups. As for the *pagus*, one could have little doubt that in accordance with the installation of one or more *pagi* the *Paganalia* were instigated. Similarly, it could be suggested that the *Compitalia* were celebrated in the Roman rural *vici* in the Italian countryside.[149] One could imagine how in this way a Roman rite served to enhance and reformulate the small 'Roman' community; a situation which may not have been so different from that documented for Delos.

In that case, an interesting reversal of the conceptualisation of so-called *vicus*-sanctuaries would be established: whereas these have traditionally been interpreted as typical elements of an 'indigenous Italic' pattern of settlement, in this scenario they would have functioned within a basically Roman system.

With regard to the administrative aspect of the *Compitalia* and, for that matter, the *vicus*-system, i.e. the possible function of the festival to count inhabitants,[150] it could be suggested that this must not *per se* implicate an innovation. Being the major central places within Italic society, it could well be imagined that the counting of inhabitants (by the *censors* or Oscan *kenszurs*?) took place at Italic sanctuaries well before the municipalisation or installation of *vici*.[151]

CONCLUSION

The *Compitalia* were the most important festival associated with the *vici*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the festival was installed together with the *vici* in the regal period, as a means of administration and control of the urban population. It has often been regarded as a family or slave festival, but actually it involved all inhabitants of the *vicus*, and in the city of Rome the festival was announced by the *praetor*. This suggests an ambit that both exceeds and includes the private or personal sphere. The archaeological evidence supports this all-encapsulating characteristic of the festival: liturgical paintings and shrines related to the *Compitalia* are found in both domestic (houses) and entirely public (temples on squares) contexts.

Although it is often assumed that the *Compitalia* were an agricultural, rural cult later absorbed by the city, evidence for this is meagre: it is still possible that the Roman urban cult originated as a Roman agricultural ritual, but this must then have been in a period beyond our vision. From the moment that we are able to recognise the *Compitalia* as such its development rather seems to have taken the opposite direction, i.e. from the city of Rome outwards to other cities, and the countryside. The *Compitalia* seem indeed to be associated strongly with urban contexts, where they appear in our record first. Interestingly, their appearance is quite early: contemporary literary passages indicate that the *Compitalia* existed in Rome at least by the 3rd century BC, and the archaeological and epigraphical evidence, especially from Delos, but also from Picenum, shows that it is possible to identify the *Compitalia* being celebrated at least by the second half of the 2nd century BC outside Rome. It is therefore possible that the *Compitalia* were disseminated along with Roman control, maybe in accordance with the institution of the *vicus*. This reading is in some way in line with Dionysius' account.

In the urban centres of Rome, Pompeii, Ostia and Delos diverse *compita* (i.e. *compitum*-shrines) have been identified. The literary evidence on the physical aspect of *compitum*-shrines is equally diverse. Leaving out the discussion on the *com-*

pita pervia, enigmatic buildings with multiple entrances, but maybe based on a wrong understanding of Persius by his scholiast, it can be concluded from both archaeology and literary sources that almost every sacred structure would do for the celebration of the *Compitalia*. The more elaborate *compitum*-shrines, as those excavated in Rome and some attested epigraphically elsewhere, actually had the aspect of small temples.

Although it is clear that the *Compitalia* were also celebrated outside urban structures, *compitum*-shrines have never been found in the countryside. It is possible that this is due to a lack of archaeological research or poor visibility, if it is assumed that these structures were constructed of perishable materials. It may also be suggested that some 'Italic' sanctuaries served as the structures were the Roman festival of the *Compitalia* was celebrated. Also, sanctuaries that epigraphically demonstrate an intimate link with one or more rural *vici* could be possible candidates. This hypothesis could stimulate further research on the vexed question of the 'religious romanisation' of Italy, apparently at work already before the Social War.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Antonella Lepone, Eric Moormann, Jeremia Pelgrom, Benjamin Rous, Ellen Thiermann, Nicola Tien Shen Ying, Jetze Touber and Anne Versloot for suggestions and corrections of the text, Massimo Osanna for providing the original photo here in fig. 7, René Reijnen for drawing fig. 6, as well as the referees from *BABesch* for their comments and patience. Special thanks to L. Schaafsma and L.B. van der Meer for their practical help.

1 2.3.5, translation Loeb.

2 Cf. for the debate De Cazanove 2000 with Glinister 2006.

3 Scullard 1981, 60.

4 Cf. the alternative etymology from '*conpotando, id est simul bibendo*' in schol. Pers. 4.28.

5 Cic. *Att*. 2.3.4. L.B. van der Meer suggests that with the *ambulatio* the *lustratio* may be meant, rather than 'strolls'.

6 Gell. 10.24.3.

7 Dion. Hal. 4.14.4. Known dates include: December 31 67 BC, January 1 58 BC, January 2 50 BC (Asc. p.65 C; Cic. *Pis*. 8; Cic. *Att*. 7.7.3).

8 Cic. *Pis*. 8; Liv. 34.7.2; Asc. p.7. C. There has been much discussion on the date and character of the *magistri vici*; cf. Flambard 1977, 1981; Fraschetti 1990; Tarpin 2002; Bert Lott 2004. *On the date*: it is clear that at least from the middle of the 1st century BC on *magistri vicorum* did exist (contra Fraschetti): cf. *CIL* IV, 60 which lists magistrates for a Pompeian *vicus* for 47-46 BC, and *CIL* VI, 1324; *CIL* I², 2514, a column mentioning *magistri veici* datable around the 50's BC from Rome (Tarpin 2002, 133-134 - also for other examples). Liv. 34.7.2 mentions *magistri vicorum* for 195 BC. Cf. also Bert Lott 2004, esp. 41-44 who argues that *magistri vici* were already in action by the time of the second Punic war. *On their character*: the image that arises of the *magister vici* is not one of splendour. Juvenal (10.103) calls him a *pannosus aedilis*: an aedile in tatters. The office of *magister vici* came to be associated mostly with the lower classes of society (Liv. 34.7.2: *infimum genus* for 195 BC), which has been seen as a ground to underscore the essentially popular character of the main festival they organised as well. Flambard (1981, 157) estimates that 3/4 of the *magistri* known to us through inscriptions were slaves or freedmen; he sees the *Compitalia* therefore as a specific 'slave-festival', or as a 'propédeutique civique' (166, cf. Dion. Hal. 4.14), a learning school for slaves and freedmen to learn to behave like real Roman citizens (followed by Jongman 1988, 297-298; cf. Bömer 1957 esp. 32-56). It seems however that, at least during the *Compitalia, magistri vici* held 'not just semi- or unofficial positions, but rather positions recognised as part of the civic and religious administration of the city': Bert Lott 2004, 43. Although, at least as results from the late Republican and early Imperial evidence, personnel was recruited from the lower echelons of society, it appears that within this range, they occupied a relatively elevated position, as is revealed for example by the costs of being in office (cf. Patterson 2006, 252-263).

9 Indeed, *CIL* V, 7739 from Liguria seems to confirm this privilege: here, a *vilicus* dedicates a *comp*(*itum*) [*et*] *aram* to the *Lares*.

10 Cf. on the subject: Flambard 1977, 1981; Fraschetti 1990, 204-273; Bert Lott 2004 esp. 54-55, who concludes that the *ludi* were curtailed, but the *Compitalia* ('a public ritual of the state religion') themselves not.

11 Cf. e.g. Alföldi 1973; Fraschetti 1990, 204-273.

12 Suet. *Aug*. 30.

13 Plin. *NH* 3.66. Cf. also the *maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem* installed by Augustus according to Verg. *Aen*. 8.716, explained by Servius ad loc. as *compita*, but the word *maxima* is maybe not fitting this interpretation. Cf. Tarpin 2002, 124, n. 89.

14 For altars and *aediculae*: Alföldi 1973, 31-36; Hano 1986.

15 Cf. Beard/North/Price 1998, 185; Gradel 2002, esp. 116-130. The issue is complex: the *Lares* are seen by some as the spirits of the dead. In this view, the revival of the *Lares*-cult at the *compita* associated with the emperor would therefore reflect the dissemination of the private cult of the house of Augustus over the *vici* of the city.

16 *Res Gestae* 19.2. cf. Ziolkowski 1992, 97-98.

17 Fest. p.108 L. *laneae effigies compitalibus noctu dabantur in compita, quod Lares, quorum is erat dies festus, animae putabantur esse hominum redactae in numerum deorum*; p.273 L: *pilae et effigies viriles et muliebres ex lana Compitalibus suspendebantur in compitis quod hunc diem festum esse deorum inferorum quos vocant Lares putarent quibus tot pilae quot capita servorum tot effigies quot essent liberi ponebantur ut vivis parcerent et essent his pilis et simulacris contenti*. Cf. Macrob. *Sat*. 1.7.34-35, describing the hanging of puppets from the *compita* during the festival. There has been much discussion on the credibility of the interpretation of the puppets (and the *Lares* in general) as indicating an ancestor cult (as Festus suggests) or even as a substitute for human sacrifices: Macrobius (as cited) mentions the practice of human sacrifice, apparently instigated by Tarquinius Superbus after a response of an oracle, which was subsequently abolished by - significantly - the founder of the Republic, Iunius Brutus, who replaced the real heads for 'dummies'.

[18] The discussion on the origin of the *Lares*, protective deities of the fields (Wissowa) or rather linked to the dead/ancestors (Samter), started with Wissowa 1897, 1902, 166-177 and Samter 1901, 105-123; Samter 1907; Laing 1921; Tabeling 1932. See now Scheid 1990, 587-598; Coarelli 1983, 265-282.

[19] Scullard 1981, 59, 60.

[20] It seems certain that the villa of Pompey, not Cicero's own villa, is intended, as e.g. Latte 1960, 91-92 assumes (to strengthen a similar argument; that the city-based owners did not interfere with the ritual on their own estates, that were in turn presided by their *vilici*).

[21] For *deversoria*: Cic. *Att*. 10.5.3; 11.5.2; 14.8.1; ridiculisation: Cic. *Fam*. 12.20. Cf. Pfeilschifter 2006, 134 n. 69.

[22] Cic. *Fam*. 7.23.3.

[23] Gell. 10.24.3.

[24] Dion. Hal. 4.14.2-4, translation adapted from Loeb; for the connection with slaves also present in Dionysius' account cf. n. 8.

[25] Fest. p.108 L, p.273 L; Macrob. *Sat*. 1.17.35, cf. n. 17 for text.

[26] Cf. *supra* n. 18.

[27] Cf. Delatte 1937; Holland 1937, 439; Dumézil 1961; Flambard 1981.

[28] Spinazzola 1953, 179-180, figs. 215-218 for puppets. On fig. 218 the thread from which the puppet is hanging can be seen. It should be noted that the rite could as well be related to the offering of the puppets to the *Lares* by girls reaching adulthood: Pseudoacronis Schol. on Hor. *Sat*. 1.5.65-66. (cf. also the three *asses* offered by a nubile woman, n. 40). The intimate link between rites de passage and *Compitalia* becomes clear as well from a fragment from Varro's *Menippeae*. (Varro *Sat. Men*. fr. 463 Buech. = Non. Marc. p. 538) from which can be deduced that apart from balls and/or dolls also hair nets (*reticula*) and breast bands (*strophia*) were offered, which are the same gifts offered by maidens before wedding to the *Lares*, Venus, and Fortuna Virgo (Samter 1907, 379-380; cf. Torelli 1984, 97).

[29] On two façade paintings: Fröhlich 1991, F29 and F66; Domestic shrines: Helbig 1868, 56, 60. Fröhlich 1991, 34: Genius altars: L1, L37, L82, L83; Snake altars: L24, L26, L29, L61, L81, L94, L98.

[30] Fröhlich 1991, 68-109. But cf. Tybout 1996, 362-364 for the problems with dating.

[31] L29, dated to the late second style around 20 BC (Fröhlich 1991, 70-72). The first phase of F66 is similarly dated, but the paintings on which the puppets appear are from later phases (Fröhlich 1991, 337).

[32] Festus (late 2nd century AD; the possible influence of earlier sources (Varro?) cannot be proved) and Macrobius (late 4th/5th century AD). It should be stressed that it is in no way clear that this practice goes indeed back to archaic times, as often seems to be assumed, apparently on the grounds that it appears as a very ancient custom, also present in other Indo-European cultures (cf. Dumézil 1961). Delos can apparently not help to stretch the chronology back to before 69 BC: to my knowledge this type of depiction of an altar with schematic puppets does not appear at the painted altars from Delos (based on a cursory examination of the illustrations in Bulard 1926, Bruneau 1970, Bezerra de Meneses-Sarian 1973 and Hasenohr 2003 (Bezerra de Meneses-Sarian 1973: on the altar depicted at wall Γ/1 fig. 21 and 22 is a stroke, but this does not seem to represent a puppet). But of course, this absence of evidence cannot conversely attest to the absence of an administrative aspect of the *Compitalia* before 69 BC, and could be explained by the particular political status of Delos.

[33] It may seem rather arbitrary from a historical point of view, even if it ideologically, and therefore historiographically, indeed makes sense: many administrative institutions are ascribed to this king who was himself believed to be the son of a *Lar* (Plin. *NH* 36.204). The strong connection between the institutions of Servius Tullius and the counting of citizens is thus clear, and has since long been appreciated: e.g. Flambard 1981, 156; Tarpin 2002, 106-111; *contra* Bert Lott 2004, 36, who refrains himself to the statement that the 'meaning of this enigmatic ceremony [scil. hanging puppets] is unclear'. Fraschetti 1990, 208 does not think either that a form of *census* is intended, pointing to the other ways of counting inhabitants mentioned in Dion. Hal. 4.15: the offering of coins for newborns to Juno Lucina, for dead to Libitina, for youth becoming men to Juventas. All these measures appear however in row at Dionysius (first *Compitalia*, then *Paganalia*, then Lucina-Libitina-Juventas) leading up to 'the wisest of all measures': the first *census*, which suggests a relation.

[34] Asc. p.7 C. Cf. n. 8. For the problems with different readings on the basis of the different interpunctuation that can be applied cf. Fraschetti 1990, 228.

[35] Plin. *NH* 3.66.

[36] *CIL* IV, 60; cf. CIL VI, 14180 for Augustan Rome.

[37] The explicit mentioning of both elements could, though, attest to the situation that these functions were not exactly synonymous or interchangeable, but perhaps the commissioners of the text (in all probability the *magistri* themselves) wanted to boast as many aspects of their function as possible, therefore including a facet of their profession that was actually taken for granted.

[38] Mason 1974, 85. Hasenohr 2003, 193 thinks that the confusion is due to the co-existence of the *Lares*' epiteths *Compitales* and *Viales*, and that their cult was sometimes celebrated in the streets, sometimes at the cross-roads.

[39] This would indeed be possible, of course, if one accepts the function of the *collegia* as a kind of mock-officials, or as a 'propédeutique civique' in order to give slaves something similar as the 'real world' to do, thereby reinforcing the existing power structures. I do not think this vision can be upheld however, in the light of the undeniable public and administrative aspects. cf. n. 69.

[40] Other rites performed at the *compitum* than the *Compitalia* proper underline this function: Varro *apud Non*. 531 M mentions the custom for a bride to offer three *asses*: one to give the bridegroom, one to offer *in foco lararium familiarum*, and one *in conpito vicinale*. Cf. the observations by Piccaluga 1961, 90: 'l'offerta fatta in occasione di un matrimonio univa in un tutto unico e le divinità legate alla casa e al focolare, e quelle venerate al crocivia'.

[41] It may however be precisely in Cato's words that an integration of the more private, family context and a somewhat larger context appears, if we accept a reading of Cato which will be presented below.

[42] In the context of Delos, the term 'Italians' will be used to indicate both 'Romans' and other peoples provenant from Italy.

[43] The inscriptions are normally found on bases of statues and include dedications to the *theoi*, perhaps to be identified with the *Lares Compitales*: *Inscriptions de Délos* 1760-1766, 1768-1771. Other deities do not fail however: Heracles, Zeus Eleutherios, Dionysos, Pistis and Roma feature as well.

[44] Hasenohr 2001.

[45] Bruneau 1970, 617-620.
[46] Bulard 1926b.
[47] Bruneau 1970, 589-620; esp. 603, 613 on the non-domestic character.
[48] Hasenohr 2003, 170, 214.
[49] Hasenohr 2003, 214.
[50] Hasenohr 2003, 214-218.
[51] Cf. e.g. Cohen 1985 for anthropological examples.
[52] For *lararia* cf. Fröhlich 1991 with Tybout 1996; for *Compitalia* and administrative aspects *CIL* IV, 60; *CIL* I², 2984; van Andringa 2000, 73-75.
[53] Hasenohr 2003, 192.
[54] Fest. p. 108 L; Macrob. *Sat*. 1.7.35; cf. Dion. Hal. 4.14.3: προνωπίοις. According to Hasenohr, this would indicate that the *Lares* were not only venerated at the crossroads as *Lares Compitales*, but also in the streets (as *Lares Viales*) and on the walls of the houses (she avoids to attach a name to these last *Lares*) (Hasenohr 2003, 194). In this way, cross-roads, streets and houses are all present. It is perhaps not necessary to see the location of the *Lares* in such a structured way (cf. *infra*), but the main line of reasoning is convincing. Hasenohr uses the Italian evidence for both Delos and Italy (esp. Pompeii), but also emphasises the specificity of Delos.
[55] Cato *Agr*. 5.3.
[56] Loeb [1934] gives: 'He must perform no religious rites, except on the occasion of the *Compitalia* at the cross-roads, or before the hearth.'
[57] Maybe better than understanding *in compito* as referring alone to *compitalibus* and *in foco* instead referring directly back to *rem divinam*. In any way *in compito* would not add any further information to *compitalibus* if not used in some way to distinguish it from *in foco*: apparently this did not speak for itself and a specification had to be made. V. Hunink, who prepares a translation of Cato's works, thinks my reading is syntactically possible, but emphasises that it is improbable that the *vilicus* could not attend to the hearth at any occasion other than the *Compitalia*. Most ritual activities in Cato are however performed by the proprietor.
[58] Thus also the translation by Goujard 1975, 15: 'qu'il ne fasse pas de sacrifice, sinon lors de la fête des carrefours, au carrefour ou au foyer, sans ordre du maître'.
[59] Bakker 1994 includes the *compita* (just as *mithraea*) in his work on private religion in Ostia, defining 'private' as restricted versus 'public' = unrestricted, the cult at the *compitum* being restricted to the neighbourhood (cf. also review by R. Laurence, *ClR* 48, 2 (1998), 444-445). But then, the definition of the *compita* could maybe better be 'compartimentalised' *vel sim*., as every citizen ended up at a *compitum* at some place. Admittedly, my reading of Cato's passage could be seen to point in this direction, but it would be misinformed to see his statement as an indication of an *opposition* between both contexts.
[60] Inasmuch a division in public and private is tenable at all in this context; this should not coincide neatly with spatial divisions.
[61] For Pompeii, the so-called 'Tempio dei Lari pubblici' (VII 9.3) on the forum would have represented a similar situation, but this identification is actually based on no evidence (cf. Fröhlich 1991, 37). The identification is from Mau 1896, esp. 299-301; also rejected by e.g. Coarelli *et al*. 1997, 163-165.
[62] Cf. the observations by Piccaluga 1961, esp. 89-90 on the *Lares*. A very direct statement on the family-exceeding ambit of the *Compitalia* is made in Festus, if we accept the identification of the *Laralia* with the *Compitalia*, as Wissowa suggests (1912, 149): (Fest. 253 L) *popularia sacra sunt, ut ait Labeo, quae omnes cives faciunt, nec certis familiis attributa sunt: Fornacalia, Parilia, Laralia, Porca praecidanea*.
[63] The liturgical paintings were regularly renewed, and Bruneau has on the basis of technical research calculated that for the house opposite the Maison de la Colline the first painting may originate from around 120 BC (Bruneau 1970, 619-620), not much later, at least at the end of the 2nd century BC, a collegium of *kompetaliastai* was in action (Bruneau 1970, 615). Although the literary sources indicate a relatively early date, in Italy most archaeological evidence does not. Sources: Naevius, 3rd century BC; Cato, first half 2nd century BC, also Lucilius (6.252-253 Warmington, 2nd century BC) probably refers to the *Compitalia* when speaking of 'that slaves festival which cannot be expressed in hexameters': Palmer 1976, 167-168. For what it is worth, Livy (4.30.10) mentions *vicis sacellisque* for 428 BC, which, if not an anachronism, may reflect an early connection between *vici* and religious shrines. Cf. Bert Lott 2004, 39-41 for discussion, cf. also *infra.*
[64] Fraschetti 1990, 206-207 proves, on the basis that the *Lares Augusti* and new *ludi* do not feature, that Dionysius describes the *Compitalia* from before the Augustan reform.
[65] The Servian tradition may originate with the early annalists, who may have presented him as the first *popularis*: Alföldi 1973, 19.
[66] Cf. Bruneau 1970, 603 on the paintings outside the Delian houses: 'elles commémorent la célébration des Compitalia qu'organisaient des individus de naissance grecque, mais affranchis ou esclaves des Roomaioi établis dans l'île. Les peintures des autels n'ont donc rien à voir avec la religion domestique des Romains ou des Italiens', with emphasis on the ethnic differences, but as well implicating a strong private and public distinction.
[67] For Rome, Dion. Hal. 4.14; for Pompeii *CIL* IV, 60 (the attestation of *magistri vici et compiti* is in itself no evidence for the administration of people, cf. however Jongman 1988, 295-310 (with Mouritsen 1990).
[68] Indeed, as Hasenohr 2003, 218 states a 'moyen d'affirmation de la puissance de la communauté italienne de Délos'.
[69] Linderski 1968, 107 (cf. the remarks in Linderski 1995, 645-647); Bert Lott 2004; *contra* Gradel 2002, 128-130. Without wanting to play down the 'servile' aspect of the *Compitalia*, especially emphasised by Bömer, Flambard and others (followed by Jongman 1988, cf. also Tybout 1996, 366-370), who seem to understand the integrative function of the *Compitalia* especially in the sense that lower status groups were accommodated by allowing them to mimic civic structures (Flambard 1981, 166 speaks of a 'propédeutique civique', Jongman 1988, 297 of a 'pseudo *cursus honorum*'), I would like to emphasise here that nevertheless, in the end, apparently all inhabitants, slaves, freedmen and citizens, were included, as is testified by the woollen puppets for free persons, balls for slaves. Also the fact that the *praetor* announced the festival is significant: cf. Fraschetti 1990, 204. Cf. n. 8.
[70] Wissowa 1901a, 791.
[71] Scullard 1981, 58: 'Their [scil. *Compitalia*] history spans a thousand years, from primitive agricultural beginnings, through "the solemn and sumptuous" celebrations which Dionysius witnessed in Augustan Rome, and on to the late Empire'; Wissowa 1897, 1872: 'seit unvor-

denklicher Zeit'. Cf. also Flambard 1981, 146, who sees the 'cérémonie immémoriale' of the *Argei* as the predecessor of the *Compitalia*, as Varro (*Ling*. 5.45-54) states that the *sacraria Argeorum* were connected to the division of the city, just as the *Compitalia* were later. Latte argues that the festival was older than the institution of the praetorship (1960, 91 n.1).

72 Scullard 1981, 59 (=Fowler 1925, 294).

73 Potter (1987, 173): 'It [scil. the *Compitalia*] was in origin an agricultural ceremony to propitiate the *lar*, or spirit that presided over each farm, and it is striking to see how the traditions of the countryside became incorporated into the life of the towns, to which so many rural folk migrated.'

74 Bert Lott 2004, 38: 'it is unclear when the probably earlier agricultural *Compitalia* was first adapted to an urban setting and focused on neighborhoods rather than farms, but it must have been early in Roman history', and further on *vici*: 'Indeed the replication of rural districts in imagined subdivisions of the urban space with local voluntary associations like the *vici* in Rome is a common phenomenon in societies making the transition from a nonurban to an urban existence', but cf. Tarpin 2002 and *infra*. Similar ideas on the development from agricultural to urban in e.g. Gradel 2002, 124; Fröhlich 1991, 26; Orr 1978, 1565-1566; Alföldi 1973, 19; Bailey 1932, *passim*, e.g. 107, 147, 172. Cf. also Pisani Sartorio 1988, 23 who states, unclear on what grounds, that: 'I Lares Compitales erano legati particolarmente alla sfera agricola, i Lares viales alla sfera pastorale e ai boschi.'

75 *Contra* Beard/North/Price 1998, 50 who list as 'quite specifically rural festivals' *Ambarvalia*, *Sementivae* and *Compitalia* (strangely, because specifying that they were celebrated 'both in Rome and in the countryside') together because they would be 'outside the civic structure of the city', being *feriae conceptivae* (not at a fixed date). Most mobile festivals have indeed an agricultural character ('quasi tutte' Dumézil 1977 [1974], 480), but this circumstance cannot *vice versa* serve as a proof. It is true that the *Compitalia* could assume the character of a yearly celebration of the end of the agricultural season: according to a scholion at Persius (4.28; cf. n. 121 for text) the *Compitalia* were celebrated *finita agricoltura*, but this - by the way rather late - assertion does obviously not attest to the origin of the *Compitalia* as an agricultural festival. On the problems with clear-cut definitions of festivals cf. in general Beard/North/Price 1998, 47.

76 Commenting quite explicitly on the relation between city and countryside is the scholion on Persius 4.28: *vel compita sunt non solum in urbe loca, sed etiam viae publicae ac diverticulae aliquorum confinium...*, which, if anything, seems rather to attest to the urban setting as the more 'natural' one than the rural setting, although in the context the agricultural aspect is highlighted. An overview of the principal literary sources: 1) Cato *Agr*. 57.1; Plin. *NH* 19.114; Prop. 4.1.23; Festus p. 108 L, 273 L; Auson. *De feriis Romanis*, 17-18 do not specify. Equally, Varro, *Ling*. 6.25 does not specify if the roads are outside the city, but one may suppose it. Suet. *Aug*. 31 mentions the *Compitalia* together with the *Lupercalia* and the *Ludi saeculares*, all restored by the princeps, but a specification of the locale is absent. 2) For an urban context: Dion. Hal. 4.14; the references by Cicero on Clodius relate to a deeply urban-plebejan context, cf. Flambard 1977, 1981. The statement by Aulus Gellius (10.24.3) that the *Compitalia* were announced by the *praetor* locates them in the city. Ovid. *Fast*. 5.145-146 and Macrob. *Sat*. 1.7.34 relates to the city. If the *maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem* installed by Augustus according to Verg. *Aen*. 8.716 do relate to *compita* (but cf. n. 13) this is another case in point. 3) For a non-urban (which is not the same as rural) setting: Pers. 4.26-30, with the scholion *ad loc*. (cf. n. 121). Dolabella apparently also refers to a rural setting, but it is unclear if this text refers to a *compitum*: cf. n. 124. Cic. *Leg*. 2.19 contrasts the *Larum sedes in agris* with the urban *delubra*, and Wissowa 1901b, 793 thinks that with the first the *sacella* at the *compita* are meant (cf. Cic. *Leg*. 2.27). Maybe not surprisingly Verg. *G*. 2.382 refers to a rural context. The description by Philargyrius on this passage of the *compita* can be related to the countryside because it is specified that *pagani agrestes* go there (Philarg. on Verg. *G*. 2.382). Cf. Hor. *Epist*. 1.1.49-51. Macrob. *Sat*. 1.16.6: mentions the *Compitalia* as one group together with the 'rural' festivals of the *Sementivae* and the *Paganalia*, being all *feriae conceptivae*. Bert Lott 2004, 33, n. 34 sees two passages of Cicero as referring to 'the rural *Compitalia*' once for 59 BC at a *villa* in Antium (*Att*. 2.3), and once for 50 BC at a *villa* of Pompey (*Att*. 7.7.3). I would hesitate however to define the *Compitalia* 'rural', for these *villae* relate clearly more to an urban way of life with rich urban people enjoying their *otium* than to countryside religion. Augustine relates that the shameful cult of Liber was celebrated at the *compita* in the countryside, but the festival significantly includes the city as the worshippers move from the rural shrines into the city: (*De civ*. D. 7.21).

77 For a clear overview of Rome, Pompeii and Ostia see Bakker 1994, 118-133; cf. for Pompeii Van Andringa 2000.

78 Bedini 1990, who apparently tries to connect the burials with the interpretation of the *Lares* as the *Manes* of the dead (Samter's interpretation: cf. n. 18): 'presso di essi era infatti usanza seppellire i morti dei vici confinanti, rappresentando il Compitum un luogo di confine, una "soglia critica" come il limite fra i due mondi dei vivi e dei morti' (122).

79 At Delos. It does not seem possible to distinguish whether the location of the scene described by Naevius is rural or urban. Naevius *ap*. Festus 230 M.

80 Cf. Phillips 1988, who thinks that it was especially in the rural areas that the festival persisted in late Roman times: 'In its rural guise it would of course find favour with the pagans who still populated the countryside. In its urban manifestation of *genius*-worship of a pagan emperor it would irritate Christians' (384). Bakker (1994, 195) thinks that from the period of the Soldier emperors onwards the cult declined.

81 Johnson 1933, esp. 118-123, Van Andringa 2000.

82 Bruneau 1970, 586-589. On the Delian *rhoomaioi* and *italikoi* cf. e.g. Brunt 1971, 205-214; cf. esp. Adams 2002; Mavrojannis 1995 sees a very strong Roman influence on Delos (and even assumes the presence of *vici* there, without presenting any evidence however).

83 The discussion on the character and origin of the *Lares* is of course intimately related to this question, since Wissowa and others would like to interpret them as protection gods of the fields: cf. n. 18. But I believe it is more correct to separate this discussion from the evaluation of the contexts of the festival of the *Compitalia*, involving the *Lares Compitales*. Anyhow, some myths link the *Lares Compitales* directly to the city of Rome,

such as Ovid. *Fast.* 2.610-616 (nymph Lara, daughter of Tiber, mother of *Lares Compitales*).

[84] In such a way see Laurence 1994 and Van Andringa 2000 the introduction of the *vici* and *Compitalia* as following the installation of the Roman colony at Pompeii; cf. n. 86.

[85] Tarpin 2002.

[86] It is thought that the institution of the *Compitalia*, including the dedication of altars, accompanied the division of the city of Pompeii in *vici* with the founding of the Roman colony by Sulla. Laurence 1994, 39; Van Andringa 2000, 72-73: states 'De toute évidence, les fêtes compitalices organisées dans la cité vesuvienne étaient calquées sur le modèle romain. Les cultes de carrefour furent vraisemblablement institués lors de l`établissement de la colonie, initiant alors une réorganisation de l'espace urbain'. Put simply, this would mean that the *vicus*-division and the *Compitalia* were exported from Rome to other cities. I see no reason to think that this was different in other areas, and especially, in non-urban contexts.

[87] Cf. schol. Pers. 4.28: *Compita sunt loca in quadriviis*...

[88] Philarg. on Verg. *G*. 2.382: *compita, ut Trebatio placet, locus ex pluribus partibus in se vel in easdem partes ex se vias atque itinera dirigens, sive is cum ara sive sine ara, sive sub tecto sive sub di*(*v*)*o sit*.

[89] Cic. *Leg*. 2.27, cf. n. 76.

[90] Schol. Pers. 4.28.

[91] Philarg. on Verg. *G*. 2.382. Fowler (1925, 279, n. 2): 'no doubt discussion about agricultural matters'.

[92] According to Wissowa (1901b, 793), *CIL* VI, 29784 (*Via quae ducit / per agrum / Nonianum / a m*(*illiario*) *XX devertic*(*ulo*) */ sinistrosus / per compitum / secus piscinam / in fundo / Decimiano / Thalamiano / iunctis debetur / ita uti hodie / in uso est*) would prove that the *compitum* is 'ein Heiligtum des ländlichen *pagus*'. Apart from the somewhat confusing introduction of a *pagus* in this context, which is not mentioned, this inscription (found '*sub Aventino*') does to my mind only indicate that there is a *compitum* somewhere, without telling anything about its 'audience', although presumably being situated in a rural setting.

[93] Dondin-Payre 1987; Pisani Sartorio 1988; Bakker 1994, esp. 128, 196-197; Hasenohr 2003.

[94] Laurence 1994; Van Andringa 2000.

[95] And on the *forum* if a shrine of the *Lares* is to be recognised there, which seems doubtful however: cf. n. 61.

[96] Laurence 1994, 41. Bakker 1994, 197: 'Apparently the *compita* were here, [scil. at Pompeii] contrary to Rome, as numerous as in the Republican period and still meant for the *geitones*. Consequently the relation between the shrines and the *vici* was different from that in Rome: the Pompeian *vici* could have more than one shrine.' Van Andringa seems to think that the shrines included a larger entity than the *vicus* (*regiones*?): 'De toute évidence, et le constat est au moins valable pour l'époque impériale, les sanctuaires de carrefour délimitent et définissent des circonscriptions administratives plus larges, englobant le réseau des vici' (2000, 75).

[97] E.g. Bakker 1994, 196: 'If the number of shrines was smaller, the amount of officials was smaller, and thus control easier', and Laurence 1994, cf. also preceding note.

[98] This does of course not undermine the existing connection, which must not be 1:1, between *compitum* and *vicus*. Laurence (1994, 42) detects this process as well in Pompeii: 'the identity of the inhabitants of each *vicus* became concentrated upon the centralised shrine of the *Lares Augusti* rather than the altars of the *Lares Compitales* that marked the boundaries of the pre-Augustan *vici* of their ancestors.' It should be noted however that for Rome there is no evidence that there were more *compitum*-shrines in one *vicus* before 73 AD.

[99] One could suspect that structures could sometimes, by extension, also be called *compitum* by association because of their function and/or appearance, even if they lacked a 'formal' location at a *compitum* = crossroad/border point, but this is impossible to prove.

[100] Bakker 1994, 198; cf. overview of the Pompeian evidence 125-127.

[101] Hasenohr 2003.

[102] Hasenohr 2001; *contra* Mavrojannis 1995.

[103] For an overview of the Pompeian, Ostian and Roman evidence see Bakker 1994, 124-132, which is used here together with information in the relevant entries of *LTUR*, Dondin-Payre 1987, Pisani Sartorio 1988, Van Andringa 2000. Pisani Sartorio (esp. 31-32) identifies several mostly small rectangular structures on the *Forma Urbis Romae* as *compita*. Although sometimes suggestive, I do not consider these here as their status as *compitum* can not be proved and they can not add much to our architectural knowledge.

[104] Gatti 1888.

[105] Dated 10 BC, recording the erection of a statue to Mercurius, which can be related to the distribution of statues *vicatim* by Augustus: Suet. *Aug*. 57; this forms the basis for the identification as a *compitum*.

[106] Dondin-Payre 1987; Coarelli 1983, 39-40, fig. 8 for location.

[107] Bakker 1994, 125.

[108] Lanciani 1882, 229-231; Coarelli 1983, 265-270.

[109] Another *compitum*-shrine with a similar rectangular plan has been noticed near the temples of Mater Matuta and Fortuna, at the vicus Iugarius, but almost nothing has been published: Coarelli 1988, 244; cf. fig. 48 p. 235 for location.

[110] M.L. Gualandi in: Carandini/Papi [2005] (1999), 125-126.

[111] Actually only a rectangular structure in *opus caementicium*, and another small piece of this *opus* in front of it was found; no trace of the roof or the columns has been found, not even the original height of the 'podium'.

[112] The structure was anyway destroyed some time between Caesar and 7 BC. M.L. Gualandi in: Carandini/Papi [2005] (1999), 126.

[113] For the Ostian evidence: Bakker 1994, 118-124; 243-250.

[114] The structure on the Bivio del Castrum, at a major crossroads, cannot be connected firmly to the relevant inscriptions: Bakker 1994, 121-122.

[115] *CIL* XIV, 4298.

[116] Pers. 4.28: *quandoque iugum pertusa ad compita figit*. Cf. Calp. *Ecl*. 4.126: *pervia compita*.

[117] Schol. Pers. 4.28; cf. n. 121 for text.

[118] Holland 1937.

[119] Bakker 1994, 200.

[120] Cf. e.g. Lee/Barr 1987, 125.

[121] Schol. Pers. 4.28. *Qui quotiens diem festum aratro fixo in compitis celebrat, timens seriolam vini aperire, acetum potat. Compita sunt loca in quadriviis, quasi turres, ubi sacrificia finita agricultura rustici celebrant. Merito pertusa, quia per omnes quattuor partes pateant, vel vetusta. Aut compita proprie a conpotando, id est simul bibendo, pertusa autem, quia pervius transitus est viris et feminis. Vel compita sunt non solum in urbe loca, sed etiam viae publicae ac diverticulae aliquorum confinium, ubi aediculae consecrantur patentes,*

ideo pertusa ad compita; in his fracta iuga ab agricolis ponuntur velut emeriti et elaborati operis indicium, sive quod omne instrumentum existiment sacrum. Vel compita dicuntur, ad quae plura itinera competunt. Quamvis rei divinae operatur: Nec sic tamen ab avaritia discedit: timetque dolium aperire diu servatum.

122 L 302.1 *Fines templares sic quaeri debent; ut si in quadrifinio est positus et quattuor possessionibus finem faciet. Quattuor aras quaeris, et aedes quattuor ingressus habet ideo ut ad sacrificium quisquis per agrum suum intraret. Quod si desertum fuerit templum, aras sic quaeris. Longe a templo quaeris pedibus XV, et invenis velut fundamenta aliqua. Quod se inter tres, tria ingressa habet: inter duos dua ingressa habet templum*.

123 Cf. the discussion in Campbell 2000, xxi-xxvi.

124 Samter 1907, 369-371; cf. Laing 1921, 135; Böhm 1925, 808.

125 Kissel 1990, 537, who also thinks (n. 113) that *pertusa* is a conscious *imitatio* of the Calpurnian *pervia*. The interpretation in Holland 1937 is qualified as 'völlig verfehlt': 538, n. 114.

126 Kissel 1990, 537, n. 111; see note 121 for text. The scholia on Persius are hard to date; the earliest manuscript dates to the 11th century; cf. Zetzel 2005.

127 Cf. Harvey 1981, 116 (on lines 29-32): 'The wretched picture contrasts with the traditional lavishness of the *Compitalia*.'

128 Calp. *Ecl*. 4.126.

129 Cf. the translation by Amat 1991, 42: 'à la croisée des grands chemins', similarly Schröder 1991, 190.

130 Cf. *ThesCRA* IV, s.v. *aedicula* (romano-repubblicana), 162-164 (M. Menichetti).

131 Maybe rather than establishing 'three classes' of *compitum*-shrines, as Bakker (1994, 130) envisages: 1) *aediculae*, 2) '*compita pervia*', 3) (masonry) altars.

132 Cf. *supra* esp. n. 76 for literary sources, *infra* for inscriptions.

133 Rejecting the identification of a structure at Tor de Cenci as a *compitum*, cf. n. 78.

134 Lega 1995, 124.

135 *Ibid*. Cf. also Kissel 1990, 537, who thinks they were mostly made of wood.

136 *CIL* V, 844 from Aquileia. Kissel 1990 sees the stone construction conversely as a 'besonders hervorzuhebende Ausnahme' (537), proving that normally they were not made of durable materials, but cf. the other inscriptions I mention here. The fact that diverse inscriptions mention a rebuilding of *compita* (537, n. 112) proves nothing: most temple complexes have been rebuilt as well, but were not, therefore, made previously of perishable materials.

137 *CIL* V, 3257.

138 *CIL* I², 3078; Cancrini/Delplace/Marengo 2001, 154-156.

139 *CIL* IX, 1618.

140 Phil. Verg. *G*. 2.382.

141 Cf. Letta 1992; on the problems with defining these sanctuaries as 'rural' cf. Stek/Pelgrom 2005.

142 It is not to be excluded that some sanctuaries that have been regarded as 'Italic' are actually new constructions within a Roman organisation of the landscape, cf. *infra* on *vicus*-sanctuaries.

143 S. De Vincenzo in: Osanna/Sica 2005, 452-457. *Lararia* have been found in the temple of Venus at Pompeii (wall paintings in the substruction rooms of the terraces). Cf. the contributions by Emmanuele Curti and Antonella Lepone on the 'giornata di studi sul tempio di Venere a Pompei', D.A.I Rome, 4-5-2006, which will be published.

144 S. De Vincenzo in: Osanna/Sica 2005, 198-199, 452.

145 E.g. as well at Campochiaro: Campochiaro 1982, 72-75, and at San Giovanni in Galdo: Di Niro 1980, 274. But this could of course, as the scale of the phenomenon may suggest, reflect a more general change in ritual as well, or refer to other rites held *noctu* as well.

146 *CIL* X, 5048; Calisti 2006, 267.

147 Esp. Letta 1992.

148 Tarpin 2002; Capogrossi Colognesi 2002.

149 For the early and mid-Republican period it is however less easy to be sure whether the *Compitalia* were already bound up so closely with the institution of the *vicus*.

150 See above on Festus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Cf. Bakker 1994, 131: 'During the feast [scil. *Compitalia*] censuses may have been taken.'

151 At present there seems to be, however, no evidence for the counting of people in sanctuaries, if we exclude the various coins and coin-containers/ treasuries found in sanctuaries, which could, in theory, have functioned as a means to count people; cf. Dionysius on the *Paganalia*. But probably they were just that - treasuries. One treasury is however explicitly linked with *pagi*: that of *decem pagorum* at Carpineto della Nora (*CIL* I, 3269).

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 133-147. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033103.

Gates, Suburbs and Traffic in the Roman Empire

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Abstract

Walled cities in the Roman Empire were inevitably accommodated with city gates which had one, two, three or four passages, depending on era, place and status. From the 1st century BC onwards, particularly in the so-called coloniae*, monumental gate complexes were erected with two or more passages, where driving traffic was separated from pedestrian traffic. Where gates are designed with special passages exclusively for pedestrians in the cases discussed in this article (Pompeii, Cologne, Xanten and Trier), extramural buildings are found. Where special pedestrian passages are absent, extramural buildings are not usually found.*[1]

PREFACE

Looking at the following city gates - Porta di Nola and Porta di Ercolano in Pompeii, Burginatiumtor in Xanten, Porta Nigra in Trier and Porta Appia in Rome - a spectator will see that they have all been part of a (former) city wall and constructed to allow for entering and exiting traffic. Nevertheless, the differences are considerable. On the one hand, Porta di Nola is a small, simple gate, in fact no more than a door in the wall; on the other hand, there are the monumental gate complexes of Cologne and Trier, large-scaled gate buildings flanked by towers and with more than one passage.

These gates were built in different periods; in some cases - Porta di Nola (Pompeii, built in Archaic period) and Porta Appia (Rome, built in Late Antiquity) - the defence function was of more importance; Porta di Ercolano and Burginatiumtor were constructed in a period of peace and relative stability, when it was possible to give higher priority to traffic. The construction of Porta Nigra at Trier (erected in the last years of the 2nd century AD) can be considered as a transitional type.

The most significant aspect, however, in which the gates differ is in the number of passages. Porta di Nola has one single passage (a gate type that is called 'single gate' in this article), Porta di Ercolano three, Burginatiumtor two, Porta Nigra two and Porta Appia, originally, two - and finally, from the beginning of the 5th century AD, one. One can conclude that gates - in the beginning - were accommodated with one passage; in later periods there came gates containing several passages and, finally, in Late Antiquity, one went back to single gates because of the growing insecurity of society.

Excavations show that the situation could occur that one city (particularly a *colonia* founded in the 1st century BC and the first two centuries AD) had gates or gate complexes which differed from each other in the number of passages. For example in Pompeii we find, - apart from the single Porta di

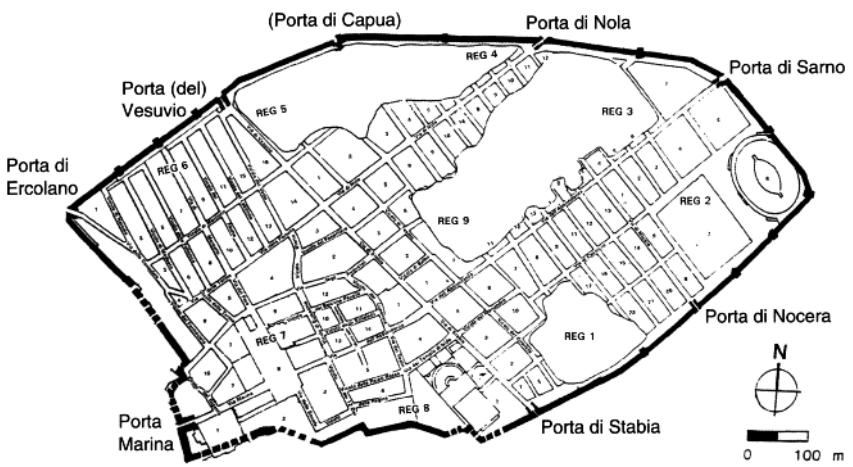

Fig 1. Pompeii, plan. Van Tilburg 2007, xvii / Laurence 1994/96, 2 (gate names: Van Tilburg)

Nola - Porta di Ercolano with three passages and the double gate Porta Marina, with a broad passage for driving traffic and a smaller one for pedestrians. Cologne, Xanten and other cities were also accommodated with single gates and gates containing two, three or four passages. Possibly, Lincoln had all of these types of gates: a single gate, a double gate, a gate with three passages and a gate with four passages.

What is the origin of such a variety of gates? Is it a matter of coincidence or did the local government have special reasons for constructing a gate with one or more passages at a fixed place, taking care of traffic flow?

In this article, an attempt will be made to show that there is a definite connection between the number of passages in a city gate (or gate complex) and extramural buildings, situated on the land side of a city wall; these extramural buildings or 'suburbs' were meant for living, working or - in the case of a temple - religious purposes. Cemeteries and 'Gräberstraßen', always situated outside the boundaries of the city, were fully independent of the number of gate passages and are found in the case of all types of gates. For establishing this number in a gate or gate complex, other aspects also played an important role: in some cases an existing city was accommodated with new walls and gates, in other cases a city was completely planned and built as a whole - including its walls and gates - at one and the same time.

In comparison with other utilitarian buildings, Roman gates are scarcely mentioned - or not at all - in ancient literature. Our most important author of architecture, Vitruvius, does not give any attention to gates at all. Our knowledge of the building and functioning of city gates is almost completely based on archaeological evidence and here also our knowledge is limited, because most gates have disappeared. Another remarkable fact is that not all cities in the Roman Empire were surrounded by a wall; in vast regions, walls were more the exception than the rule. There are only a few cases which give an impression of the interaction between city and countryside, entering and exiting traffic and the role of city gates in this matter.

After the construction of a gate, the number of passages remained the same during the whole period of Antiquity; changes in the plan and/or the number of passages to give more space to traffic flow did not take place.[2] Only in case of damage or destruction of a gate (in wartime or natural disasters), where it was necessary to build a completely new gate, could the number of passages be adapted. In Late Antiquity, sometimes the number of gate passages would decrease when city defence was of more importance and traffic of less; passages could also be narrowed or bricked up. To keep traffic flow under control in a certain way, passing traffic had to be restricted and suburbs had to be limited as much as possible to places where the gates had space enough to sustain traffic flow.

In this article, four cities - Pompeii, Cologne, Xanten and Trier - will be discussed, where we have enough information on their urban infrastructure (including the situation of gates and suburbs) to set up a more detailed survey of the planning of gates and extramural buildings:

* In Cologne and Xanten, there is an integral plan of city and city wall;
* In Pompeii, the existing city was extended twice and accommodated with new walls; here also was the exceptional situation that an old gate was replaced by a new one in an existing city wall;
* In Trier, an existing city acquired a completely new wall.

In Pompeii and Trier, the walls were in the first instance erected for city defence, but in Cologne and Xanten they were built to indicate the city boundaries. In the latter cases, the city government was able to assign certain locations for setting up extramural buildings as part of the city. So in this case, extramural buildings were part of a policy, undertaken with an intention.

In Pompeii, in the case of two gates, there were extramural buildings in front of the gates with side passages for pedestrians. This situation also occurs in Cologne and Xanten. In Trier and also in Rome there were neither extramural buildings of any importance, nor gates with side passages for pedestrians.

This article focuses on aspects of the planning, defence and traffic functions of gates; strictly architectural and art-historical aspects like columns and sculptures (a gate as a city's visiting card) are not a point of study here.

POMPEII

Pompeii started in the 6th century BC or earlier[3] as an Oscan settlement. Its defence wall was of great importance in the city-state society of that time and surrounded in the beginning the *regiones* VII and VIII. Later on, the city underwent two extensions: *regio* VI in the period 474-424 BC and the Samnitic extension in the 4th century. In this phase the city took its final shape (*fig. 1*). The former *cardo*, Via di Mercurio, lost its function in this

Fig 2. Pompeii, Porta di Ercolano. Coarelli 32.

extension; the city gate, situated in the wall at the north side of the *cardo*, was demolished and replaced by a wall tower, nowadays Torre XI.[4] The thoroughfare road, that ran its course outside the city along the wall prior to the extension, now came into the city and took over the function of the *cardo*; the former *decumanus* was lengthened to arrive at Porta di Sarno. In the end, after this extension, Pompeii had seven gates: Porta Marina, Porta di Ercolano, Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, Porta di Sarno, Porta di Nocera and Porta di Stabia.[5] This situation continued until the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD.

Porta del Vesuvio, Porta di Nola, Porta di Sarno, Porta di Nocera and Porta di Stabia all have only one passage, whereas Porta Marina has two passages and Porta di Ercolano even three. Can an explanation be found here?

Originally, immediately after the third extension, all gates were designed as single gates. They made up part of the surrounding wall erected for city defence against attacks of enemies from outside. The gates, the weakest points of the wall, had to be as narrow as possible and relatively easy to defend. There were still no extended gate complexes like those discussed below in this article. Also from a traffic point of view, Pompeii did not need wide gates; the city population did not yet have such a volume to cause busy traffic flow and lack of space.[6] During the time that Pompeii was part of the Roman Empire, the city government decided to maintain the surrounding wall for the most part; only on the south-west and west side between Porta Marina and Porta di Stabia was the wall finally pulled down and built over by the 'Hanghäuser', but the small gates were maintained.

Porta Marina is a remarkably deep gate (with a depth of 22.63 metres);[7] it is perhaps rather more a tunnel than a gate passage. The main passage or carriageway is wide enough to give space for a wagon or a horseman, but for a pedestrian the gate is difficult to pass; because of the length of the tunnel he has to wait longer until the gate is free. So Porta Marina had a special parallel side passage for pedestrians, built against the broader carriageway at the north side. According to Mau and Overbeck, the gate dates from the period between the Second Punic War and the Social War, roughly the 2nd century BC.[8] Overbeck and Mau are doubtful as to whether Porta Marina was suitable for military functions; they state that during the construction of this gate Pompeii had no walls at all on this side.[9] In fact, Porta Marina may be seen as a forerunner of a gate where traffic is more important than defence.

Porta di Ercolano (in Roman times this gate was named *Porta Salis*, Salt Gate)[10] is also different from the other (single) gates. At the time of the eruption of Vesuvius, it had three passages: one main carriageway for wheeled traffic and people on horseback in the centre of the gate building and on the left and right side two smaller side passages for pedestrians (*fig. 2*). The gate replaced a former one, situated a little bit more to the southwest; a reconstruction picture by W. Gell shows older wheel ruts running to the former gate, but after the construction of the new gate they ended against the pillar between the central carriageway and the western side passage. The road surface also ends against this pillar; on the east side of the carriageway, the pillar is not placed in the road surface but in the edge of the sidewalk[11] and can be dated after 80 BC as a *terminus post quem*, when Pompeii was given its status of *colonia* by Sulla.[12]

What is the reason for the design of this gate, which is different to the other gates? The reason for this is to be found in the siege and capture of Pompeii in 89 BC by the troops of Sulla during the Social War. During the siege, the attack was concentrated on the north western part of the city between Porta di Ercolano and Porta del Vesuvio. In this attack, stone bullets were shot into the city[13] resulting in the city wall (including Porta di Ercolano) being damaged; possibly the gate was completely destroyed. It was later reconstructed but with an altered shape, with three passages.[14] Another reason why a gate was built with three passages is that, as well as increased traffic flow, extramural buildings had been developed over the course of time.[15] At the time of the eruption of Vesuvius there was a suburb outside Porta di Ercolano, the so-called Pagus Augustus: a necropolis and some large villas such as Villa dei Misteri,

at first all dating to the 2nd century BC.[16] A second important necropolis was situated outside Porta di Nocera, whilst outside Porta Marina the Terme Suburbane were constructed during the time of the Emperors. This was an excellent location owing to the presence of a gate with a side passage for pedestrians and sea water, used in these baths.[17]

Incidentally, the local government followed a restrictive policy pertaining to extramural buildings. Private individuals occupied public space outside four gates - Porta Marina, Porta di Ercolano, Porta del Vesuvio and Porta di Nocera - while the city government considered these as public spaces where dwellings were undesirable.[18] Maybe traffic aspects also played a role here; in this way, the quantity of entering and exiting traffic could be restricted as much as possible to inter-urban traffic. Pompeii was a densely populated city and in order to cope with the housing problem, the choice was made to construct buildings in the south-west corner of the city, at the place of the former wall.[19]

One can conclude that Pompeii - in spite of an increasing population in the city itself and the surrounding region in Campania[20] and the consequently increasing traffic flow - maintained the small gates in the wall, for the most part dating from the Samnitic period. The city government chose a compact, densely crowded city inside its traditional boundaries. Extramural buildings were restricted as much as possible, probably to keep traffic congestion under control in front of the gates; the presence of a suburb in front of Porta di Ercolano caused a bottleneck, in combination with traffic going to Herculaneum and Naples. After destroying this deficient gate, the city government took the opportunity of replacing it with a new one with three passages: a central carriageway with two side passages for pedestrians.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A THREE-PASSAGE-GATE

A symmetrical city gate with three passages like Porta di Ercolano in Pompeii is a typically-Roman phenomenon, occurring in many planned Roman cities in the western part of the Roman Empire. During the course of the 1st century BC, this type of gate was developed - in this article, I will call this a 'three-passage-gate' - and around 25 BC, when Porta Praetoria in Aosta was built, we can speak of a gate complex with the following features:

* the gate building itself, with three passages (a high carriageway in the centre, for wheeled traffic and people on horseback, and two side passages for pedestrians) and a courtyard;
* a floor for the use of the portcullis;
* two flanking towers.

This revolutionary architecture is, according to Schultze, derived from the cities in the Hellenistic areas, particularly Alexandria, where Rome made its first connections in the second half of the 1st century BC.[21] The Hellenistic cities were mostly open cities; only a few cities were accommodated with stone walls.[22]

It is clear that these large-scaled gate complexes are constructed especially, in the first instance, for traffic volume and not for city defence. In this period there were no competing city states or enemies; cities took their chances to construct imposing gate complexes not only for traffic but also to exhibit their power and wealth with much display of decoration and as a status symbol. This was especially suitable for new cities, the so-called *coloniae*, set up for housing veterans and colonists. Many *coloniae* were accommodated with a surrounding wall, however, there it was initially meant to indicate the boundary of the built-up area, and not as a city defence. The aim of the gate complexes was also to impress the approaching visitors to the city and not to frighten them off. This did not mean that it was impossible to close the gate. In times of danger, the central carriageway could be closed by means of a portcullis, which made necessary the construction of a floor above the passage. Porta di Ercolano, too, already had a portcullis at its disposal.[23]

COLOGNE

One of the new *coloniae* where this type of city gate was introduced, was Cologne, which received its status of *colonia* in 50 AD. Before that time, there was already a local Germanic settlement, Oppidum Ubiorum. From 50 onwards, the wall was erected in a wide circle, indicating the contours of the final Roman city. Inside the wall, the city was designed according to the usual and typical Roman form of planning: streets following the form of a chessboard pattern, *cardo* and *decumanus* as main axes and the central forum situated at their intersection (*fig. 3*). The three main land gates, completely integrated in the city wall, were constructed at the points where *cardo* and *decumanus* crossed the wall on the northern, western and southern side. The eastern side was formed by the left bank of the river Rhine where smaller harbour gates were situated.[24]

The planning of these city gates, in combination with the indication of certain areas outside

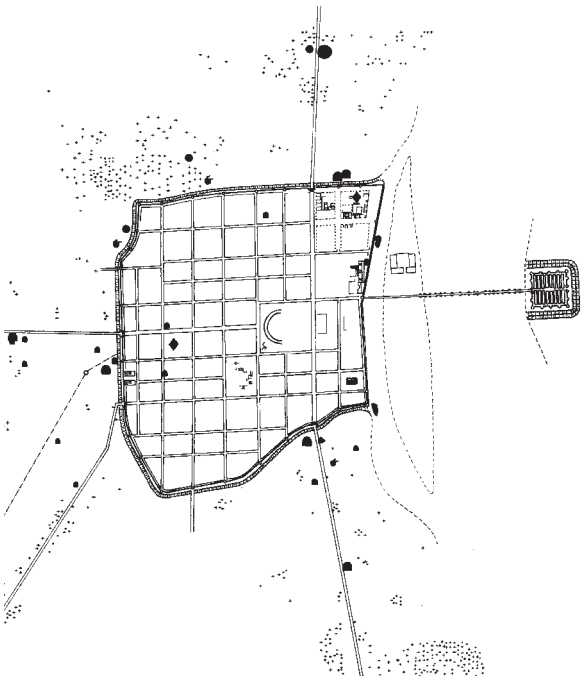

Fig 3. Cologne, plan.
Stuart & De Grooth 41/ Van Tilburg 2007, 43.

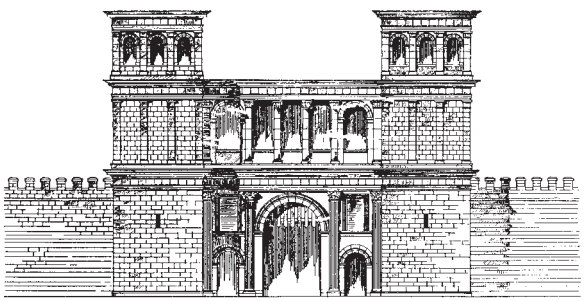

Fig 4. Cologne, Porta Paphia. Schultze Taf. XV.

the boundaries of the wall - where extramural buildings were not only desirable but even necessary - created the opportunity for designing the gates with such a number of passages that traffic flow could be sustained effectively. In the case of the three main land gates, three-passage-gates were opted for, with a high carriageway in the centre, flanked by two smaller side passages for pedestrians.

Cologne had nine gates in total: as well as the three main land gates there was a double gate and a single gate on the western side, a single gate on the southern side and three harbour gates on the eastern river side. One of them, the middle one, known as Porta Martis, had perhaps two passages[25] and gave access to an island in the Rhine, an industrial area.

The best-known gate is the main gate on the northern side, with its medieval name Porta Paphia (*fig. 4*). In respect to design and dimensions, this gate was roughly the same as Porta Praetoria in Aosta, but differed from it because the side passages were separated from the main central carriageway by means of a wall.[26] Presumably the other main gates had the same plan and dimensions. The adaptation of three-passage-gates created the possibility of developing suburbs; not only desirable, but also - in some cases - necessary. Immediately outside the gates was the suburb area, consisting of dwellings, workshops, cemeteries and - in front of the southern main gate (Hohenpforte)[27] - a *statio* for the *beneficiarii*, security watchers, responsible for watching the roads.[28] The presence of side passages created an optimal interaction of pedestrian traffic between city and countryside. We can assume that in the case of suburbs, the majority of traffic consisted of pedestrians; even in a relatively big city like Cologne, the distances were, in general, no longer than a few hundred metres and the distances between the suburbs and the city itself were no shorter. Furthermore, wagons were expensive; according to the *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis*, one had to pay thousands of denaries for them[29] - excluding the costs for track animals and food.

For relatively short distances, no longer than a few hundred metres, carriages were not only expensive but also unnecessary when everything was close enough to walk. So we can say that in the case of three-passage-gates the side passage (for pedestrians) was mainly meant for local traffic, including the interaction between the city and the extramural buildings; the high carriageway in the centre, designed for wheeled traffic and people on horseback was initially intended for inter-urban traffic.

Looking at figure 3 we see that the majority of workshops were situated around the wall and the northern, western and southern approach-roads. Before the nomination of the status of *colonia*, there was already industry in Oppidum Ubiorum, especially on the western side, but after the realisation of the built-up area inside the wall, these workshops - not only producing goods, but also noise, smell and fire-hazard - were removed to the areas outside the wall. So potteries were removed and banished to the west, outside the western main gate, along the western approach-road. The need to transfer workshops because of the danger of fire from the walled city to the

countryside is stressed again in 58 AD, when the city was stricken by fire.[30] In the Flavian era, this transfer was completed successfully. The houses of the owners or managers of these workshops were removed to the suburbs, outside the city.[31] Other branches of industry, transferred to the countryside, were glass-works, metal-foundries and smithies.[32] These workshops were not only fire-hazardous, but also produced smoke, noise and nuisance.

Further, the plans of Hellenkemper (1975, p. 157) and Stuart show that the extramural buildings along the approach-roads outside the city are scarcer when there are fewer passages in the corresponding gates. Most extramural buildings are to be found along the suburban stretches of the *cardines* and *decumanus*, as well as the approach-roads on the northern, western and southern sides of the city, where the three-passage-gates are also situated. The road to the harbour island[33] passed a gate containing one or two passages; the southern gate of the west side of the city was a double gate like Porta Marina in Pompeii: a broad carriageway with a width of 3.70 m and a smaller passage for pedestrians of 2.60 m.[34] The other two land gates, the northern one on the western side and the western one on the southern side, gave access to less important roads with scarcely any - or no - extramural buildings immediately outside the city. The number of tombs was also smaller.

The design and number of passages in a gate depended, at any rate in the case of Cologne, on the quantity and quality of planning and construction of extramural buildings in the form of dwellings and workshops in the close environment of the city. Cemeteries depended less on the presence of main roads and gates. Stuart's plan shows two concentrations of cemeteries, situated a bit further away from the wall: one on the north western side of the city and one on the southern side. The latter field was approachable by use of the southern approach-road, but the largest concentration was situated off the road. Neither did the other main cemetery, have its location close to a main road[35] on the north western side. Settlements and farms situated further away from the city did not play a role at all in this matter; Hellenkemper's plan indicates that there were scattered dwellings in the whole hinterland and no concentration along certain roads. So we can conclude that the other two gates in the western wall could also have been designed as three-passage-gates, so that extramural buildings could be developed here.[36] *Cardines* and *decumanus*, however, had priority.

So the situation in Cologne is in fact opposite to that of Pompeii: there Porta di Ercolano (a three-passage-gate), was replaced in an existing built-up area as part of an existing wall between city buildings and extramural buildings, by a new design, because the changed situation made it not only possible, but even necessary. In Cologne, on the other hand, a start was made with the erection of a wall and gates as *tabula rasa*, in an area that was scarcely built upon - or not at all. Suburbs were not developed along every road and from every gate, but only in those places where the city government gave permission; although the industrial activities encircled practically the entire wall, the majority of the workshops developed along the three major approach-roads and the island, and not along secondary roads. So we can conclude that the city government, when planning and constructing the wall and gates, had already appointed these concentration areas. The wall of a *colonia* indicates the boundary of the city itself, the sanctified area, encircled by its *pomerium*, but the authorities of the city government (in this case the *aediles*) extended the *pomerium* up to one mile behind this boundary.[37] Therefore, the workshops outside the wall and, maybe, the cemeteries further away, were subject to the jurisdiction of the city government.

DOUBLE GATES, THREE-PASSAGE-GATES AND FOUR-PASSAGE-GATES

A significant aspect of a gate is the fact that it was not extended or rebuilt during its existence. Should extramural buildings be constructed next to a gate with one or two passages - for whatever reason - the gate maintained its former physiognomy. Only in the case of destruction - by a natural disaster or during war - was the possibility created for the erection of a new gate, such as Porta di Ercolano. When a city government wished to keep the city as approachable as possible, taking into account the presence of suburbs, the possibility arose of building these suburbs on the land side of the gates with multiple passages, to sustain the interaction between city and countryside, avoiding traffic congestion in front of and inside the gate passages. The majority of the distances were relatively short and easy to walk, so the use, particularly, of special side passages for pedestrians could be helpful in keeping pedestrian traffic moving and vice versa.

Apart from the above mentioned single gates, double gates of the Porta Marina-type and three-passage-gates,[38] there were two other types of

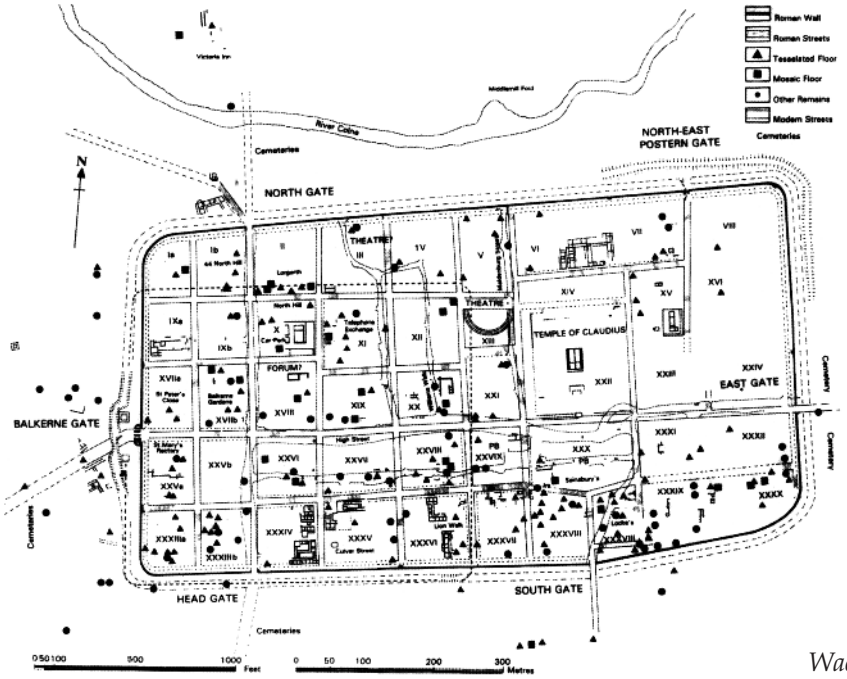

Fig 5. Colchester, plan. Wacher 115/Van Tilburg 2007, 117.

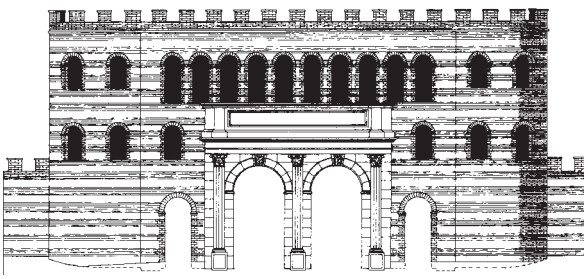

Fig 6. Colchester, Balkerne Gate. Van Tilburg 2005, 128.

gate: double gates with passages of equal height and both suitable for wheeled (interurban) traffic and even four-passage-gates, with two carriageways in the centre of the gate building of equal height, flanked by smaller side passages of equal height for pedestrians. This last gate type is scarce and only found in north western Italy, the adjacent south eastern Gaul and Britain.[39]

It was possible for a city government to choose one single type of gate, used in all cases. An example of such a policy is Autun, where four four-passage-gates were realised over all four approach-roads.[40] Nevertheless, in most cases a *colonia* had various types of gate, like Cologne. Nîmes, acquiring the right to erect a wall in 16 BC from Augustus, built a four-passage-gate. At another place in the wall a single gate was built (Porte de France); both gates had portcullises and were flanked by towers. In the upper city of Lincoln, every gate possibly had a different number of passages: a single gate on the western side, a three-passage-gate on the northern side, a double gate on the eastern side and probably a four-passage-gate on the southern side.[41] The plans of Lincoln and Colchester show the same development as in Cologne: more extramural buildings when there are more passages in the connecting gates. In Colchester, a concentration of extramural buildings is found on the land side of Balkerne Gate, a four-passage-gate on the western side, and a supposed three-passage-gate on the north western side of the city (*figs. 5-6*).[42] There was no courtyard in these British gates; they were merely passages in the wall and the passages themselves were separated by walls, flanked by towers. Finally, Timgad (Africa) shows the same situation: a three-passage-gate was built on the side where many large-scaled, extramural buildings have been found, and narrower gates where extramural buildings are scarcer.[43]

XANTEN

Roughly fifty years after the founding of Cologne, Xanten was the second city in the province Germania Inferior to acquire the status of *colonia* which was bestowed by Emperor Trajan under the name of Colonia Ulpia Traiana. We see here the same development in the construction of the city area: a former Germanic settlement was first

surrounded by a new city wall, after which the area inside this wall was built up and accommodated with the usual chess-board street pattern - *cardines* and *decumanus* - and the typical Roman institutions such as a forum, an amphitheatre, temples and public baths (*fig. 7*).

Apart from the harbour gates, Xanten acquired three main gates on the land side, where *cardo* and *decumanus* entered the city: Burginatiumtor on the north western side (its name is modern and derived from the *castellum* Burginatium, situated northwest of Xanten along the river Rhine), Maastor (on the south western side) and Veterator (on the south eastern side, with the name of the military settlements Vetera I and II). These gate names are modern. The start of the erection of the city wall is, by means of dendrochronological research, dated in 106[44] but the building of Burginatiumtor started later; according to coin discoveries, this is dated to around 115.[45]

Burginatiumtor has not only been excavated, but also completely reconstructed in its original situation and nowadays it is one of the most important attractions for visitors to the Archäologisches Park Xanten (APX; *figs. 8-9*). The gate is designed as a double one with two carriageways for wheeled traffic and horsemen, without side passages. Like the British gate complexes, the gate does not have a courtyard; this phenomenon disappears in the second half of the 1st century AD.

Why is Burginatiumtor designed as a double gate without special side passages for pedestrians? Looking at the situation in cities like Cologne, Lincoln and Colchester, one reason may be that there were scarcely any extramural buildings or none at all. Outside the gate, some traces of a building[46] are found. If we assume that there were no further buildings,[47] this could explain why Burginatiumtor is a double gate and not a three- or four-passage-gate. The absence of a suburb of any importance did not necessitate the construction of special side-passages in the gate. So traffic crossing the gate must have been as good as completely interurban. There is also the possibility that the built-up area on the city-side of the gate was scarcer or more open than in other places in the city;[48] assigning a place for a suburb outside Burginatiumtor by the city government was not an urgent matter.

Another point of view is the following: extramural buildings outside the city - north of Burginatiumtor in the direction of the Rhine - would be situated in a place which was not attractive to live in. The gate did not only have the carriageways for traffic, but also the main sewer leaving

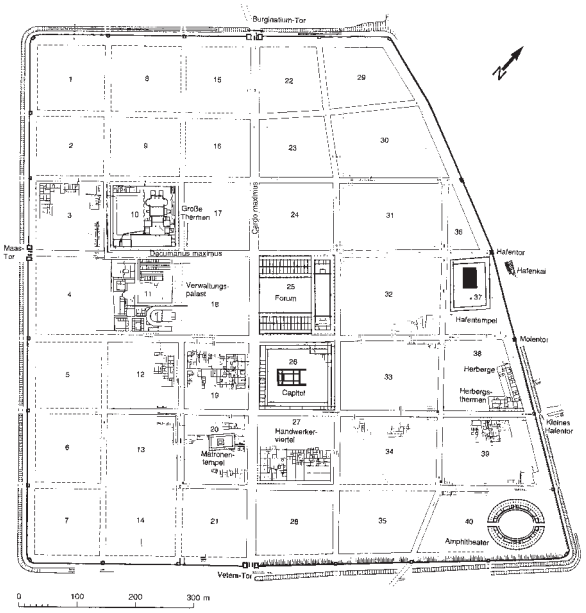

Fig 7. Xanten, plan.
Heimberg & Rieche 7/Van Tilburg 2007, xviii.

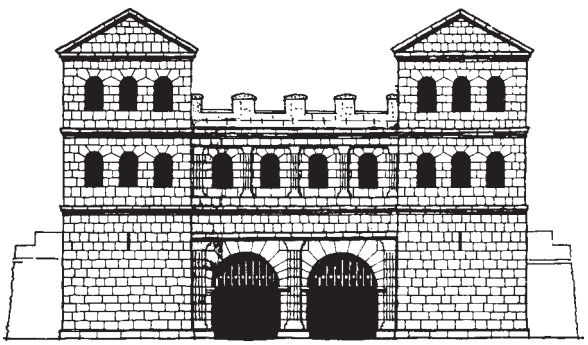

Fig 8. Xanten, Burginatiumtor. Böcking 274.

Fig 9. Xanten, Burginatiumtor.
Photo Van Tilburg 2007, 101.

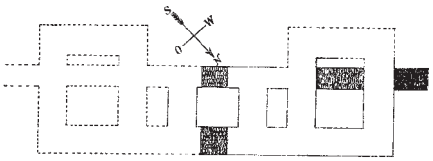

Fig 10. Xanten, Maastor.
Lehner 182/Van Tilburg 2007, 115.

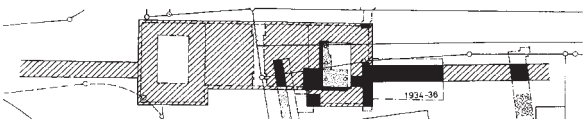

Fig 11. Xanten, Veterator.
Böcking, APX/Van Tilburg 2007, 114.

the city through the eastern carriageway. The polluted waste water ran further to the Rhine whose course ran parallel to the wall. In and in front of the gate the sewer was closed, but from the point where the gate had its connection to the wall there was an open sewer.[49] Nowadays, tourists enjoy the fine view of Burginatiumtor and, climbing the towers, the magnificent panorama of the Roman city and the skyline of medieval Xanten, but in Antiquity, the smell must have been quite offensive here. Because of this, extramural buildings must have been scarce or completely absent. According to Böcking, however, there was an important cemetery.[50]

If there is scarcely any suburb outside this gate - or none at all - what about the other two main gates of Xanten? Maastor, situated on the south western side of the city, was already partially excavated, researched and described by H. Lehner around 1900, but our knowledge is still scant (*fig. 10*). It is certain that we have to make do here with a three-passage-gate, at a later stage flanked by two towers. The fact that the towers are built over the former wall indicates that there were two building-phases; the second phase dates from the second half of the 2nd century, after a fire.[51] This fire may be a consequence of an invasion of a Germanic tribe, the Chauci, in Belgica in the years 172-174; Didius Julianus, Emperor in 193, expelled these invaders.[52] After the fire, the former gate without towers was then accommodated with towers.

Although in the case of Maastor, there is again no detailed archaeological information which can give evidence of extramural buildings here,[53] the chance of the existence of suburbs seems to be greater than in the case of Burginatiumtor. First, here was a three-passage-gate: we have to assume that there was entering and exiting pedestrian traffic as interaction between city and the countryside southwest of the city. The road over which Maastor was built entered the city as decumanus and ran outside the wall, in a south westerly direction, to the peaceful hinterland, making it a more attractive road for private houses than the frontier road along the Rhine. Furthermore, Maastor was not, as far as we know, part of the sewage system.

Xanten had a third land gate, situated on the south eastern side and built over the *cardo*. Apart from its location, in fact we know hardly anything of this gate which was given the name Veterator (*fig. 11*). In the years 1934-1936 excavations have shown that the gate was designed with towers, with a connection to the city wall. We also know that the supply of fresh water from the mountains southwest of Xanten ran into the city through this gate by means of an aqueduct.[54]

The most important question in the context of this article, i.e. how many passages Veterator must have had, cannot, therefore, be answered definitively yet. It is not plausible that Veterator was a single gate and the plausibility of a four-passage-gate is also minimal; this gate type did not occur in this part of the Roman Empire. So the possibilities of a double gate like Burginatiumtor and a three-passage-gate like Maastor remain.

In spite of this lack of knowledge about the outlook of Veterator, the APX (Archäologischer Park Xanten) has launched the idea of reconstructing Veterator, as a pendant of the (also reconstructed) Burginatiumtor.[55] When a complete reconstruction has taken place, the question must be answered what the design and physiognomy of the gate were. At the moment APX is confirming the design - in respect of costs, building material and physiognomy - of a double gate like Burginatiumtor. In fact this is not an unreasonable idea. As far as I know there is one reconstruction plan of Veterator, following the excavation results,[56] which is indeed a plan of a double gate with equal carriageways. The reconstruction plan shows, however, that the majority of the plan is imaginary, based on hypothesises and no real evidence has been found concerning the number of passages and their sustaining walls (pillars).

What we do not know is how many passages there were in Veterator, and this is also a problem in the case of publications of city maps of the Roman city. Burginatiumtor and Maastor have one and two central pillars respectively; Veterator has sometimes one and sometimes two pillars.[57] The reason for this is simple: the designer is forced to make a choice.

That Burginatiumtor was designed as a double gate with equal carriageways is confirmed by the fact that the sewer was found relatively close to the tower;[58] a pillar straight above the sewer was improbable. A subterranean pipe also ran into the city through Veterator: the aqueduct supplying fresh water coming from the surrounding mountains. Whether we can state that for this reason Veterator was also designed as a double gate is doubtful, because a pipe can also be constructed under the surface of the central carriageway of a three-passage-gate. So it is still not clear - using the scarce information about the design of Veterator - whether there is a double gate or a three-passage-gate. Nevertheless, I will try to set up a hypothesis.

It has already been shown that in Cologne, Lincoln and Colchester three- and four-passage-gates are found in relation to suburbs; in the case of Lincoln, even a completely new city was developed outside the southern gate (and extramural buildings south of the new city).[59] When we compare this situation to the south eastern gate of Xanten, we can conclude - if we refer to extramural buildings - whether a double gate or a three-passage-gate was present.

South-east of Xanten, relatively close to the *colonia*, there were two legionary settlements: the important *castra* Vetera I (with space for two complete legions) and the smaller settlement Vetera II. Here thousands of soldiers and their staff were housed. They were still in use around the year 110,[60] when the realisation of the city was in full swing or even almost completed. Furthermore, between the military settlements and the city, approx. 300 metres south of Veterator, there was a smaller settlement (*vicus*) west of the medieval cathedral church, at the spot where the museum is situated today. Traces of this *vicus* were found in 1971 by the excavations of H. Borger. The *vicus* was situated along the limes road and included - besides private houses - potteries and iron workshops: fire-hazardous industry. When we consider the short distance between this *vicus* and the city, we can state that this *vicus* still belongs to the territory of the *colonia* where the authority of the *aediles* was still valid and we can also assume that the workshops were placed here on behalf of the city government. These workshops were still in use in the 3rd century.[61] New excavations are difficult to carry out because the area has been built over by the medieval city of Xanten.

On the sections of road between the *colonia*, the *vicus* and the military settlements, there must have been - apart from interurban traffic - a large amount of local traffic. Part of this traffic will have been people on horseback and wheeled traffic: cavalry and officers on horseback and transport of pottery and (raw) building materials, but there must also have been a huge crowd of pedestrians. To sustain such traffic, the city needed a gate with side passages for pedestrians. However, the traffic situation around Veterator was quite different from that of Burginatiumtor, where there were considerably less extramural (and probably, also intramural) buildings and suburbs. It is not completely impossible that Veterator would have been a double gate, but as long as definitive archaeological evidence is not yet available, I assume that - following the information above - Veterator was a three-passage-gate.

The history of the development of the *colonia* Xanten is comparable to that of Cologne: a Roman city wall around a former Germanic settlement; after that time the area inside the wall was built up. If the city government of Xanten followed the same policy concerning city planning and traffic policy as that of Cologne, we can assume that both Maastor and Veterator were examples of three-passage-gates with suburbs, comparable with the three main gates of Cologne. Burginatiumtor, however, had a more interurban-oriented function: less built-up area inside and outside the wall did not create the need for the design of a gate with special side passages for pedestrians and therefore the city government chose the design of a double gate, which functioned well for interurban traffic.

TRIER

The promotion of a settlement or city to the status of *colonia* did not inevitably lead to the erection of walls and gates, although this was usual in certain parts of the Empire. Trier became a *colonia* during the reign of Emperor Augustus; but for a long time the city remained an open city like many other cities in Gaul.[62]

For a long time, there was doubt concerning the date of Porta Nigra, the famous city gate of Trier (*figs. 12-13*). Lehner dated the building of the gate to the second half of the 3rd century (the reign of the usurper-emperor Postumus, 259-268). However, other dating suggestions refer to the 4th century, but nowadays it is assumed that the gate was constructed during the last quarter of the 2nd century AD, as was the connecting city wall. Confirmations of this date, in fact, are that the gate is built partially over a cemetery which was in use from the 1st century until the third quarter of

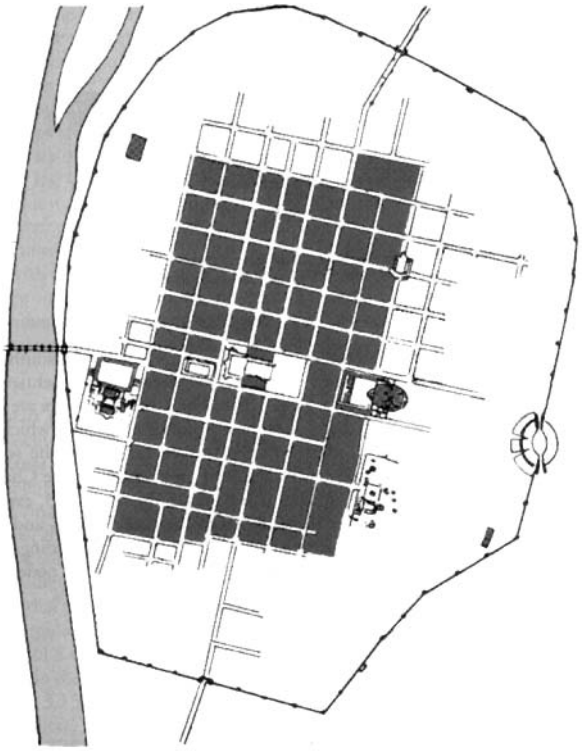

Fig 12. Trier, plan.
Van Tilburg 2007, 116.

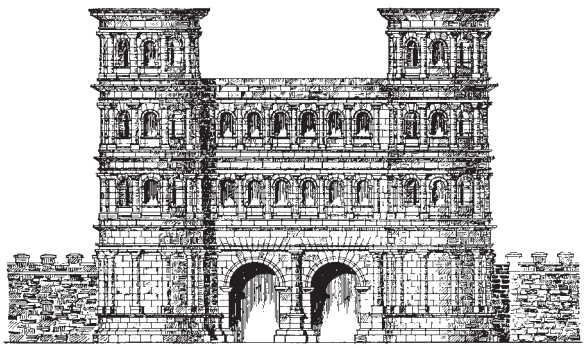

Fig 13. Trier, Porta Nigra.
Schultze Taf. XVI/Van Tilburg 2007, 102.

the 2nd century AD. Besides that (according to Cüppers) there is a historical indication: the gate was not yet finished when Trier was besieged by the Germans - during the struggle between Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus - in the years 196-197.[63]

Contrary to Cologne and Xanten, the wall was added to an existing city without following the contours of that city. In the new city wall there were five gates: apart from the already-existing and imposing Porta Nigra (in Antiquity known as Porta Martis)[64] there were Porta Media, Porta Alba and Porta Inclyta. A fifth gate was formed by one of the main entrances of the amphitheatre and had, indeed, three passages - one in the centre, giving entrance to the arena, suitable for wheeled traffic and horsemen, and two for pedestrians, giving entrance to the spectators' part (*cavea*) - but in this respect the name of three-passage-gate is, in fact, not correct here.[65]

The wall was not constructed to indicate the boundaries of the city, but to protect the city against enemies. In the last decades of the 2nd century the first Germanic invasions began in the northern frontier regions of the Rhine and Danube; in this context, the invasion of the Chauci and their attack on Xanten should also be remembered. The city government of Trier decided to surround the city yet again - after two centuries - with a wall and gates. The military aspect of Porta Nigra is remarkable in its design: a high massive gate complex with two floors, flanked by heavy towers, semi-circular to the countryside and - reverting to gate building history - a courtyard. The gate is an example of a new generation of gates realised in the course of the 3rd century. The gates of the Aurelian Wall in Rome also belong to this type, viz. as part of a structure meant for the city's defence. The military-defence interest of these gates is far more important than the traffic aspect; this limits the number of passages to one or, in some cases, two.

In Trier, the city government's choice was for at least two double gates: Porta Nigra and Porta Media. Information on the two other newly-built gates - Porta Alba and Porta Inclyta - is lacking, but we can assume that they were also double gates.[66]

Taking a look at Trier's plan in Late Antiquity, we see that the wall surrounds the city in a wide arc. A wall following the boundaries of the existing built-up area would be shorter, cheaper and easier to defend. The amphitheatre would be located outside the city, which would diminish the number of gates to one. Eventually, the circus (probably situated north of the amphitheatre) would be incorporated into the city wall.

Why, then, did the city government prefer a long wall with a wide arc? One possibility could be to create gardens and parks inside the wall. In times of siege one could grow food; so the danger of starvation would be considerably decreased. A second possibility could have been to create space for city enlargements inside the wall without the necessity of the construction of new walls - the same situation as Pompeii. If this was the reason,

the city government was very optimistic; it was necessary to fill up the whole area inside the wall, roughly doubling the built-up area of the existing city. Besides that, walls making wide arcs around cities were not unusual; we see the same development in Augst and Avenches.[67]

A third possibility could be that the gates were intentionally placed at those places where the last ribbon-development of the city ended and the countryside began. So all buildings were within the surrounding wall and there were no longer any extramural buildings.[68] Because the choice was made for double gates, passing traffic (especially pedestrians) had to be limited as much as possible. Furthermore, the gates were deeper, with longer passages, making the passing time for traffic longer.

At the same time, London was also surrounded by a wall.[69] Unfortunately our information on the gates is scarce, but in any case two of the six main land gates - Newgate and Aldersgate - seem to have been double gates like Porta Nigra.[70] Outside Newgate - in other words outside the new wall - there was a temple.[71] Hence, we can state that there was, in this case, an extramural building outside a double gate. However, remark has to be made that according to Marsden, Newgate was already been built as an independent gate before the construction of the wall. In planning the wall, the city government decided to incorporate the gate into the wall as a new city gate.[72] A logical choice, which created the situation that the temple remained outside the walled city area, in front of Newgate, in the countryside.

Another example of a wall with double gates is the long and imposing Aurelian Wall in Rome. This wall - including fourteen[73] gates - surrounds the city, including some green areas like Horti Sallustiani. Four gates were designed as double gates: Porta Ostiensis, Porta Appia (*fig. 14*),[74] Porta Flaminia and Porta Portuensis;[75] besides them

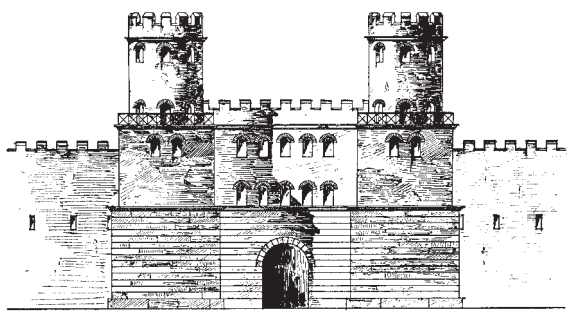

Fig 14. Rome, Porta Appia.
Schultze Taf. XVII/Van Tilburg 2007, 106.

Porta Praenestina in combination with Porta Labicana can be considered as a double gate, although here there are two separate gates, built over two different approach-roads.[76] Furthermore, the wall contained some small gates (the so-called *posterulae*) of lesser importance and probably only meant for pedestrian traffic.[77] Immediately outside the Aurelian Wall there was the countryside; buildings were very scarce or even absent.[78] Firstly, suburbs - if they existed - were situated outside the protecting wall of the city and at this time, it was not attractive to plan them or to live there. Secondly, they offered an unobstructed view of the surroundings of the wall to approaching, attacking and besieging enemies and, thirdly, the absence of suburbs meant following the policy of reducing as much as possible passing (pedestrian) traffic through single and double gates. But there were numerous funereal monuments along the principal roads.

Former open cities like Trier, London and Rome, still surrounded by a wall in the last years of the 2nd century and in the 3rd century, were accommodated with double gates just as Porta Nigra: gates with two equally high carriageways, suitable for wheeled traffic and people on horseback, mainly meant for interurban traffic. There were no side passages for pedestrians. Local traffic was restricted and had to function as much as possible within the contours of the new wall. In the cases discussed above - Trier, London and Rome - there were in fact no extramural buildings. A period of unrest began, in which it was not attractive to live or to work outside the safe wall of a city. Furthermore, an unobstructed view from the wall to the surrounding countryside was necessary.

CONCLUSION

City gates are part of the wall of a city and have two important functions: being part of the city defence structure (or indication structure) and allowing traffic to enter and leave the city. Because gates were not easy to alter, the city government had to take measures to keep traffic flow under control when it passed the gates, or in any case to try to keep it under control.

Usually, gates maintained their original physiognomy. In Pompeii, the majority of the gates retained their initial design until the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, many centuries later, despite increasing traffic flow, like Porta di Stabia. Only when a gate was destroyed or badly damaged, was the city government forced to construct a new one; this new gate could be adapted to new

traffic demands or to other incentives; this was the case with Porta di Ercolano. Nevertheless, a new gate must have been a rare occurrence.

The gate as an unchangeable artefact forced the city government to follow a certain policy concerning city planning. Firstly, in the case of a newly-founded city, one had immediately to decide how to design the gates, how many passages, and whether - and if so, where - extramural buildings were to be developed to keep traffic flow under control. In the case of Cologne and Xanten (two *coloniae* in Germania Inferior) the walls were part of the city plan. The wall was built around a former Germanic settlement, the area within the walls was divided according to the usual chessboard pattern and then built up. We see a development of suburbs, usually in the form of polluting and nuisance-creating workshops, along the approach- (main) roads. Gates crossing these roads needed three or four passages: one or two high carriageways in the centre of the gate complex, flanked by two smaller passages for pedestrians. We see examples of this type of gate in Cologne, Colchester and Lincoln. There are indications that Xanten also followed this pattern, although there is on the one hand a three-passage-gate (Maastor) with little information on extramural buildings and, on the other hand, extramural buildings with little information on the number of passages of the connecting gate (Veterator).

In the case of double gates with two equally high carriageways, suitable for wheeled traffic and people on horseback, up until now no suburbs of any importance have been found in the *coloniae* discussed in this article (Xanten and Trier). In Xanten, however, traces of a building have been found outside Burginatiumtor, but considering the presence of an open sewer it must have been an unattractive place to be in. Maybe it was a stable, a *statio* for *beneficiarii* (road watchers) or a barn.

We can assume that there is a connection between side passages for pedestrians and suburbs. This is also the case in Trier, London and Rome, where the walls were built after they had long functioned as open cities. The city governments chose double and single gates. They also decided to concentrate the entire built-up area inside the wall without any suburbs. The only exceptions were formed by churches, erected in cemeteries. The situation of cemeteries was fully independent of the number of passages of each type of gate; they were planned in front of both single gates and gates with several passages.

NOTES

1 I am grateful to Dr. A. van Heck for his translation of the Italian sources and Jane van Klaveren for correcting the English text.
2 According to Gros, Porta Esquilina, falsely dated and dedicated in Gallienus' time (Arcus Gallieni) is rebuilt in the Augustan era as a three-passage-gate; Gros 2002, 29-30. If so, this should be a city gate without a closing wall; the Servian Wall was interrupted. Arcus Gallieni could have been designed as a triumphal arch with three passages; Platner/Ashby 1929, 39.
3 Etienne 1966, 86.
4 Etienne 1966, 91-95.
5 An eighth gate, Porta di Capua, for a long time doubtful, is now definitely rejected in Sakai's article.
6 Schoonhoven 2003, 285.
7 Overbeck/Mau 1884, 54.
8 Overbeck/Mau 1884, 53; Mau 1899, 238.
9 Overbeck/Mau 1884, 53.
10 Coarelli 2002, 53; Etienne 1966, 113.
11 Coarelli 2002, 32. More traces of the course of the former road can be found by the positions of the fronts of the tombs Sud 3 and Nord 3, 4 and 6 (the tombs Sud 2 and Nord 1 are erected in a later period); Fröhlich 1993, 153-156.
12 Coarelli 2002, 52. According to Fröhlich, the common sense is Late Republic or Augustan period (p. 153), like Porta di Stabia (p. 156); according to Fröhlich himself, the gate is constructed after the earthquake in 62 AD (p. 157-158); he does not mention Sulla. Cf. Chiaramonte Treré 14.
13 Coarelli 2002, 52; Etienne 1966, 114.
14 Coarelli 2002, 52.
15 Before Sulla, there was already a concentration of villas on the western side of Pompeii: Oettel 1996, 169.
16 Coarelli 2002, 346.
17 Coarelli 2002, 192.
18 Van Binnebeke 1997, 142-144.
19 Etienne 1966, 116.
20 According to Prof. L. de Ligt (oral communication).
21 Schultze 1909, 296.
22 Akurgal 1973, passim.
23 Schultze 1909, 287.
24 Klinkenberg 1906, 179-197.
25 Klinkenberg 1906, 196-197.
26 Schultze 1909, Taf. XV.
27 Klinkenberg 1906, 193-194.
28 Hellenkemper 1975, 157.
29 *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis* 15.33 [*raeda cum arcuatis rotis sine fer*]*ro *tribus milibus*], 'a wagon with curved wheel parts without iron-mounting costs 3,000 denaries'. This is a relatively plain wagon. The symbol * must be read as *denarii*, denaries.
30 Tac. *Ann.* 13.57 *sed civitas Ubiorum socia nobis malo improviso adflicta est. nam ignes terra editi villas arva vicos passim corripiebant ferebanturque in ipsa conditae nuper coloniae moenia*, 'But the federate Ubian community was visited by an unforeseen catastrophe. Fires, breaking from the ground, fastened onto farm-houses, crops, and villages, in all quarters, and soon were sweeping towards the very walls of the recently founded colony'.
31 Hellenkemper 1975, 157; Stuart/De Grooth 1987, 41; Höpken 1999, passim; Thomas 1990, 408.
32 Hellenkemper 1975, 157.
33 Hellenkemper's plan (1975, 157) shows a bridge. In the 4th century, a bridge was to be constructed over the

Rhine, connecting with Porta Martis; Stuart/De Grooth 1987, 41. A reconstruction painting used by Böcking (1987, 102) even shows two bridges, and three single gates at the river front.

34 Klinkenberg 1906, 193-194.

35 Stuart/De Grooth 1987, 41.

36 Hellenkemper 1975, 156.

37 *Lex Julia Municipalis* 68-70 *Quae loca publica* [...] *procuratio est*; Van Binnebeke 1987, 124. *Contra* Liv. 27.37.9 *aedilium curulium* [...] *intraque decimum lapidem ab urbe* and Pekáry 1968, 55-56, stating that there was a limit of 10 miles from the city.

38 The combination of three-passage-gates (Porta Venere and Porta Consolare) and extramural buildings is also to be found in Spello. Unfortunately, I could not find information on whether the three-passage-gates were older than the extramural buildings or later. In front of Porta Urbica, a single gate, there have not yet been found any extramural building up to the present; see Brands 1988, 131-132 and ill. 98-111, and the maps V and VIIb in Manconi/Camerieri/Cruciani 1996.

39 Nîmes, Autun, Turin (Schultze 1909, Taf. XIII, XIV, XVI); Colchester, St. Albans, Cirencester (Wacher 1997, 72) and maybe Lincoln.

40 Schultze 1909, 305.

41 Jones 2002, 59-61. Whether on the southern side a four-passage-gate was really situated, is not completely certain, but considering the fact that a suburb (the 'lower city') was developed here which was eventually larger than the former 'upper' city, a four-passage-gate is to be expected here and I agree with Jones, together with Wacher (1997, 135). Furthermore, a four-passage-gate was not an unknown phenomenon in Britain; see n. 38.

42 Lincoln: Jones 2002, 55; Colchester: Wacher 1997, 115, 127 and 129 (three-passage-gate).

43 Van Tilburg 2007, 30 and 103; Goodman 2007, 70.

44 Schmidt 1987, passim; Liesen 1994, 238 n. 6; Kühlborn 1987, 486, 491.

45 Böcking 1987, 273.

46 Heimberg/Rieche 1998, 7 (plan).

47 According to H.J. Schalles (APX), not much has been found outside Burginatiumtor, but extended excavations have not yet taken place.

48 Excavations in 1968, 2000 and 2001 in *insulae* 15 and 22 (the *insulae* immediately south of Burginatiumtor) gave evidence of the presence of an auxiliary camp in precolonial time; Leih 2002, 149-154. We may conclude that there were no soil disturbances during the *colonia*. Leih (2002, 152) assumes, on the basis of that, that there was fallow land: a farm, farmyard or garden. In Nijmegen, also, there was scarcely any built-up or fallow land inside the wall: Willems 1990, 69.

49 Böcking 1987, 272; Heimberg/Rieche 1998, 60-61 (plan).

50 Böcking 1987, 273.

51 Lehner 1903, 182-187; Bechert 258-259 with a second reconstruction proposal of the three-passage-gate, after the fire. The fact that Maastor was not initially flanked by towers is remarkable; the gate must have had, in the first building phase, roughly the design of Porta di Ercolano.

52 *Historia Augusta, Didius Julianus* 1.7 *Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. Ibi Chaucis, Germaniae populis qui Albim fluvium adcolebant, erumpentibus restituit tumultuariis auxiliis provincialium*, 'he ruled Belgium long and well. Here, with auxiliaries hastily levied from the provinces, he held out against the Chauci (a people of Germany who dwelt on the river Elbe) as they attempted to burst through the border'.

53 According to Mrs. J. Obladen (LVR, Landschaftverband Rheinland) foundations of buildings are found on the western side of the city in the neighbourhood of Maastor. They have, however, not yet been researched or published.

54 Heimberg/Rieche 1998, 57-58; Berkel 2002, 133 (plan).

55 Schalles 2002, 262.

56 This plan was given to me by APX.

57 Veterator as double gate: in *Xantener Berichte* 12, 2002, 85, 231 and 239; Böcking 1987, 265.
Veterator as three-passages-gate: in *Xantener Berichte* 13, 2003, 118 and 308, Kühlborn 1987, 489, Böcking 1987, 246 and Precht 1983, 67, in which the reconstruction plan is integrated; Heimberg/Rieche 1998, passim. Böcking (1987, 283) refers to an older and no longer valid plan of Ch.B. Rüger, where not only Maastor and Veterator but also Burginatiumtor and even the harbour gate connecting the decumanus are designed as three-passage-gates.

58 Gerlach 1983, 105; Precht 1983, 66.

59 Cleary 1987, 106-113, ill. 42-43.

60 Böcking 1987, 157.

61 Hinz 1975, 154-155; Böcking 1987, 206-208. For a detailed report on the excavations see Heimberg/Rüger 1972, 84-118.

62 Cf. Van Es 1981, 143; Grénier 1931, 282-284; Drinkwater 1983, 151.

63 Schultze 1909, 337; Cüppers 1980, 25-26; Dahm 1991, 30.

64 Heinen 1985, 110-111.

65 Dahm 1991, 12, 13, 30 and 31.

66 See below.

67 Heimberg/Rieche 1998, 36.

68 In the 4th century, there is some building of churches outside the wall; Dahm 1991, 12-13.

69 Wacher 1997, 97.

70 Wacher 1997, 76.

71 Wacher 1997, 89.

72 Wacher 1997, 89 and 100; Marsden 1980, 124.

73 According to Lugli/Gismondi, Lanciani and Van Tilburg. Steinby 1993-2006 (*LTUR* IV, p. 113) mentions twenty gates.

74 This gate was later connected with a triumphal arch of Drusus. So an imposing gate complex was created; Schultze 1909, 343 and Taf. XVII. A combination of a city gate and a triumphal arch also occurs in Pula (Istria); Von Hesberg 1992, 283-284.

75 Lugli/Gismondi 1949; Giovagnoli 1973, 42 and 101; Platner/Ashby 1929, 412. *Contra* Schultze 1909, 343 (single gate). Emperor Honorius bricked up these double gates to single gates: Giovagnoli 1973, 42-44; Richardson 1992, 300 (Porta Appia), 303 (Porta Flaminia), 305 (Porta Ostiensis) and 306 (Porta Portuensis).

76 Platner/Ashby 1929, 413.

77 Giovagnoli 1973, 44-45.

78 As in Trier, later some churches arose outside the Aurelian wall, e.g. San Paolo fuori le Mura (4th century).

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 149-154. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033104.

A New Portrait Bust of Tiberius in the Collection of Michael Bianco

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Abstract

In a private American collection is a magnificent, previously unpublished marble bust of Tiberius. This well preserved and slightly over life-size sculptural image belongs to the 'Florence-Ephesos-Munich' portrait type of Tiberius (Type IV), created about AD 10 to commemorate Tiberius' military victories in Illyricum. It is likely that the Bianco bust was produced between that time and the early years of Tiberius' Principate, when a new portrait type (Type V) was commissioned to represent him as Princeps following Augustus' death in 14.

A magnificent, slightly over life-size marble portrait bust in the private American collection of Michael Bianco represents Tiberius, the son of Livia and stepson of Augustus Caesar (*figs. 1-3*).[1] Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus in AD 14, died at the age of 78 in AD 37, when he was in turn succeeded by his nephew (Gaius) Caligula. Tiberius' identity in this portrait can be established by his characteristic facial features and hairstyle, known from numismatic and sculptural images of him. This portrait takes the form of a bust, showing only the uppermost part of the chest, with folds of a Greek-style cloak draped over the left shoulder. Tiberius' head is turned sharply to his left side, imparting a dramatic note.

The total height of the 'Bianco Tiberius' is ca 53.5 cm; the height from the bottom of the chin to the top of the head, 24.5 cm. A beige-colored patina covers most of the bust, except at the back, where the discoloration is somewhat darker. A small fresh chip in the upper left back side of the head indicates that this sculpture is carved in a fine-grained white marble. Some root marks appear on the front of the plastron ('bib') of the bust (*fig. 1*). The marble on the side of the right shoulder is left rough, while a net-like pattern of chisel marks scores the otherwise smooth surface of the side of the left shoulder. The base of the bust is in the form of a slightly tapering column-like tenon, the bottom of which is not flat but cut at a slight angle (*fig. 3.2*). The diameter of the tenon is ca 12 cm; its height, 6 cm at the front below the plastron and 12.5 cm at the back. The form and size of this rather unusual type of tenon indicate that the bust was made for insertion into a circular mortise in another marble or colored stone element, most likely a tall rectangular pillar. The portrait is remarkably well preserved except for some minor abrasions, the broken off end of the nose, and parts of the rims of both ears. In the top back side of the head (*fig. 3.1*) there is a large, shallow oval depression (ca 11.8 cm wide; 9.3 cm high), indicating that the original block of marble ended at this point and/or was flawed. This area would most likely have been fitted with a small section of marble with carved hair locks on top, or perhaps more likely filled with marble dust stucco formed into locks to complete the rounded contour of the head.

The surface of the face is smooth, giving Tiberius a youthful appearance. As we shall see, however, based on when the original model would have been created, this youthful look is deceptive. As in images of other members of the Augustan imperial house, the degree of idealization in this portrait bust is to be interpreted as a conscious stylistic choice in keeping with the classicizing trends that characterized the Augustan age not just in portraiture but in all forms of art. Although the provenance of this sculpture is unknown, the fine and careful carving of the face and hair locks and the demonstrated ability of the sculptor to create a noble image indicate that this likeness was carved by a master portrait specialist, possibly from Asia Minor.

The number of portrait types created for Tiberius has been rather difficult to determine. Most recent specialized portrait studies suggest that about six principal portrait models were produced over the course of his life, each to commemorate some important event in Tiberius' career. The chronology of his individual portrait types has been disputed.[2] Nevertheless, based on the distinctive pattern of hair locks, especially over the forehead, it can be definitively established that the Bianco Tiberius is a replica of a now lost officially commissioned

Fig. 1. Optimum 3/4 view of Bianco Tiberius (photo author).

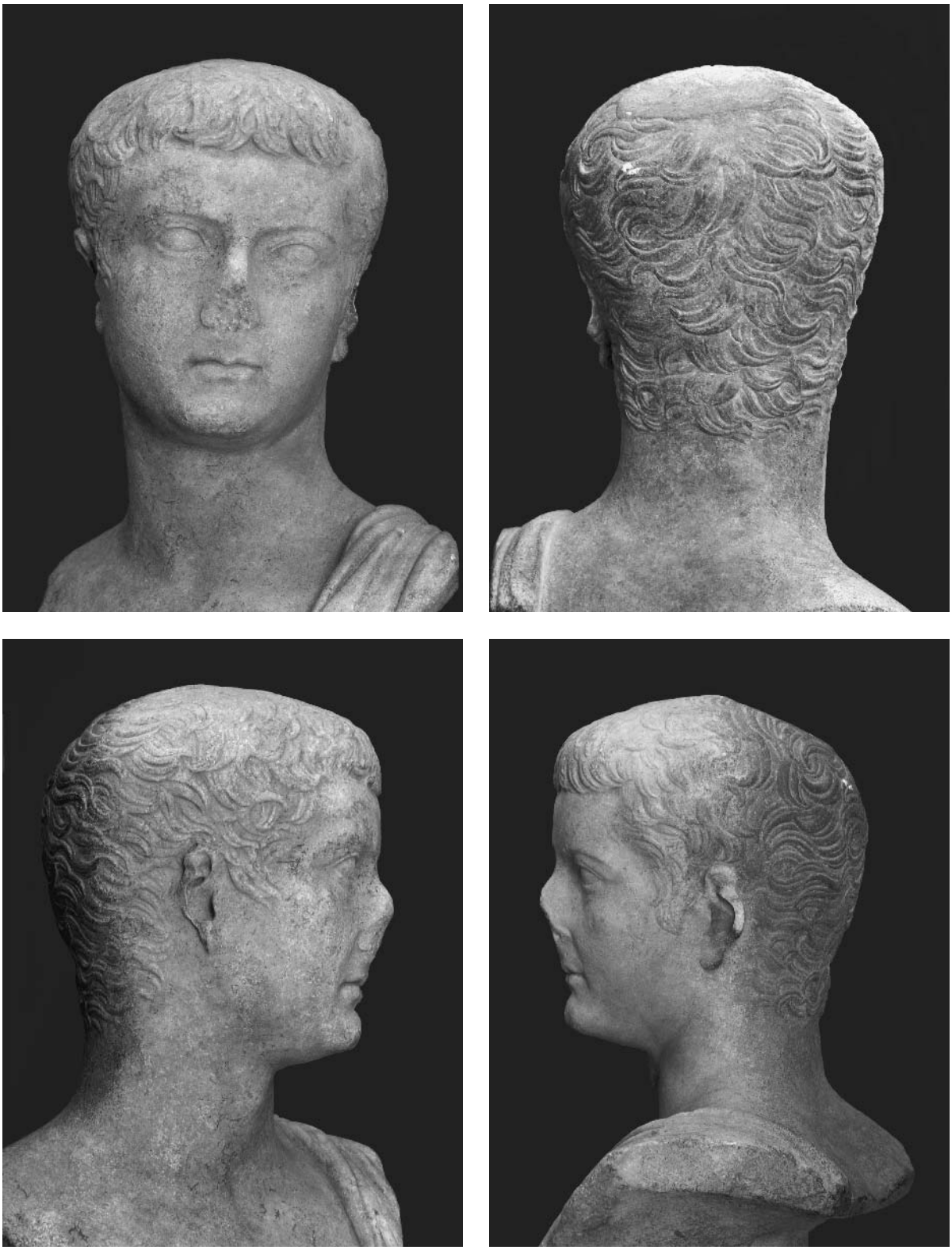

Fig. 2.1-4. Frontal and rear view, and right and left profile of Bianco Tiberius (photos author).

Fig. 3.1. Top of head of Bianco Tiberius (photo author).

Fig. 3.2. Back of base of Bianco Tiberius (photo author).

portrait model that is best represented in three extant marble replicas: one in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, a second from Ephesos in the Selçuk Museum in Turkey, and a third from Bevilacqua (Italy) in the Munich Glyptothek.[3] Besides the Bianco Tiberius, there are about nine or ten other extant replicas of this type, including a fine portrait head in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (*figs. 4.1-3*).[4] This group of replicas used to be called the 'Munich-Ephesos' type.[5] However, since the little-cited head in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence has been seen as the most faithful representative stylistically of the lost model ('Urbild') from Rome, this type might be better referred to as the 'Florence-Ephesos-Munich' type.[6] Because of the possibility that a new portrait may be discovered or of a reconsideration of presumed prototypes, resulting in further renaming, I prefer to designate this particular type more simply Tiberius' Type IV.[7] Of the three principal replicas making up this type, the Bianco bust stands closest to the Ephesos portrait (*figs. 5.1-2*) in terms of the pattern of hair locks over the forehead. In both images, there is a small central lock turning to his right side over the nose, and next to that lock is another small one turning down over the right eye. However, in the surface treatment of the face and hair, especially at the back of the head and nape of the neck, the Bianco Tiberius is more like the Munich portrait.

Tiberius' Type IV should be considered in relation to what was apparently his first official portrait type.[8] Because Type I was probably designed to commemorate his first military successes in the East in 20/19 BC as *legatus pro praetore* and his award of *insignia praetoria*, that type may also be called his 'First Military' type. The portrait model

Fig. 4.1-3. Frontal view and profiles of head of Tiberius, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (photos author).

Fig. 5.1-2. Frontal view and right profile of bust of Tiberius from Ephesos, Selçuk Museum (photos Guntram Koch).

of Type I was likely to have been created in 19 BC, when Tiberius returned from the East and probably married Vipsania, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa.[9] Type IV, on the other hand, appears to have been commissioned around AD 10 to commemorate Tiberius' military victories in Illyricum and his being granted a triumph in AD 9 (not actually celebrated until AD 12). I have consequently designated Type IV his 'Second Military' type.[10] The other two intervening types were created to commemorate other important events in Tiberius' life. Type II, comprising about 25 extant replicas, was most likely commissioned for his marriage to Augustus' daughter Julia around 11 BC. This type, formerly referred to as the 'Copenhagen 623' type or the 'Adoption' type, I would designate instead the 'Son-in-Law' type.[11] Type III, also called the 'Berlin-Naples-Sorrento' type and represented by about 8 replicas, would be Tiberius' true 'Adoption' type, and as such would have been created in AD 4, the year in which he was adopted by Augustus.[12]

Type IV remained Tiberius' principal portrait type until his succession to the Principate upon the death of Augustus in AD 14, when a new portrait type (Type V) was created representing Tiberius as Princeps. This new image, which I have also called his 'First Princeps' type, is generally considered to be best represented in a portrait in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (624).[13] One final portrait type, sometimes referred to as the 'Chiaramonti' type, was produced during the last decade of Tiberius' Principate. I believe that this type (Type VI), which I have designated his 'Second Princeps' type and which comprises about 21 extant replicas,[14] was intended to honor Divine Providence for saving Tiberius' life from the conspiracy involving his Praetorian Prefect Sejanus in AD 31.

The chronology of the various portrait types of Tiberius is our principal guide in dating the Bianco Tiberius. Since the original model for Type IV was probably produced around AD 10, it is likely that the Bianco Tiberius was created between that date and the earlier years of Tiberius' Principate, before Type V became his dominant image.

NOTES

[1] I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Michael Bianco for the opportunity to examine and to publish this remarkable portrait, which was acquired by Mr. Bianco for his collection in Southern California on August 9, 2004.

[2] For a recent review of Tiberius' portrait typology, see Pollini 2005, with a new proposal for the six main portrait types of Tiberius and their chronological ordering (cf. fig. 1 [Boschung's chronology] and fig. 2 [my own chronology]). My new chronological ordering of Tiberius' portrait typology represents an altering of the chronology presented by Boschung 1993.

[3] For this portrait type and its principal replicas, see Pollini 2005, 58-59 (fig. 2, Type IV; cf. fig. 1, no 3 = Boschung's 'Ephesus-Munich' type), 61-63.

[4] See Moormann, 2001, 61-62 cat. no 71, pls 32a-b. Of the three replicas best representing Type IV, the Allard Pierson head is most like the Florence portrait in its general treatment of the hair, especially in the locks over the forehead.

[5] See Boschung 1990, 377 n. 24, with additions in Boschung 1993, 57 n. 92; the type is referred to as the 'Munich-Ephesus' Typus, and about 7 other replicas are identified as belonging to this type. See also Pollini 2005, 61-63, fig. 1, no. 3.

[6] Mus. inv. 1914.140: Megow 2000, 257 (Type A, no 1) 273-274, 283-284. See also Pollini 2005, 61-62 with n. 30.

[7] See the schema in Pollini 2005, 59, fig. 2. I have followed a numbering scheme also for the typology of other members of the imperial house: See, e.g., Pollini 1999.

[8] For this type, see recently Pollini 2005, 63-66. Boschung calls this the 'Basel' type; Megow, the 'Naples-Basel' type: see Pollini 2005, 63 n. 36.

[9] Pollini 2005, 64.

[10] For the complexity of dating this portrait type, see Pollini 2005, 61-63, fig. 2.

[11] For this type, see Pollini 2005, fig. 2, pls. 9.3-6.

[12] For this type, see Pollini 2005, 62-62, 68, fig. 2, pl. 10.1-2.

[13] Museum. Inv. no 1750. This type has also been called the 'Copenhagen 624' Type. For this type and past discussion of it, see Pollini 2005, 56 n. 4, 59 (fig. 2: my schema; cf. fig. 1 = Boschung's schema), 67, 75 (Type V), pl. 12.3-4.

[14] See Pollini 2005, 60, 62, 66-70, fig. 2, pls. 7.1-4, 12.3-6, 13.1-6.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 155-170. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033105.

Die attische Girlande und der Sarkophag Caffarelli

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Zusammenfassung

Der Typus der attischen Girlande wird bestimmt durch zwei vertikale Granatapfelreihen, die in Girlandenmitte aufeinander treffen; zwischen ihnen bleibt leerer Raum, ein vertikaler Spalt. Bekannt ist der attische Girlandentypus von den Sarkophagen. Der Beginn der Produktion attischer Girlandensarkophage wird gegen 120 n.Chr. angesetzt. Der Typus der attischen Girlande indes begegnet bereits an einer späthellenistischen Grabara in Athen. Die hier folgenden Beobachtungen belegen den attischen Girlandentypus des weiteren am Caffarelli-Sarkophag in Berlin. Dieser ist von H. Herdejürgen überzeugend der claudischen Epoche zugeordnet worden. Zwischen dem Sarkophag Caffarelli von etwa 40 n.Chr. und den frühen attischen Girlandensarkophagen klafft eine Zeitlücke von 80 Jahren, also von drei Generationen. Es ist nicht denkbar, daß zwischen 40 und 120 n.Chr. in Attika keine Girlandenreliefs gearbeitet worden wären, eine Werkstattradition aber weiter bestand. Die Existenz kleinasiatischer Girlandensarkophage im 1. und frühen 2. Jh. n.Chr. macht das Fortleben auch der attischen Reliefgirlande in dieser Zeit wahrscheinlich. Vorläufer der attischen Girlandensarkophage sind unter Grab- und Götteraltären zu suchen. Diese Arbeit ist noch zu leisten.

EINFÜHRUNG

Der Sarkophag Caffarelli in Berlin (*Abb. 1*)[1] gilt als ein herausragender Vertreter der frühkaiserzeitlichen Kunstproduktion Roms. Front- und Rückseite zeigen je zwei an Boukrania aufgehängte Girlanden. Über ihnen sind Opferkännchen und Pateren zu sehen. An den Schmalseiten sind Ölbäumchen dargestellt. Der Typus der Schmalseiten-Reliefs ist an Sarkophagen singulär. Singulär ist insgesamt auch die kunstgeschichtliche Position des Sarkophages Caffarelli im Rahmen der frühen Kaiserzeit. In der Kunst der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderthälfte ist er isoliert geblieben. Er gilt als Einzelstück, das sich einer kunstgeschichtlichen Tradition nicht einordnen läßt. Versuche zu ihrer Klärung liegen vor.[2]

Nach G. Rodenwaldts ausführlicher Abhandlung hat insbesondere H. Herdejürgen[3] den Caffarelli-Sarkophag noch einmal einer kritischen Stilanalyse unterzogen. Sie ordnet ihn als zweites Stück in das Corpus der stadtrömischen und italischen Girlandensarkophage ein und setzt sich nachhaltig mit dem Stil seiner Girlandenreliefs auseinander. Sie kommt zu einer jüngeren Datierung als die von Rodenwaldt erschlossene spättiberische Epoche und findet seine chronologische Position unter frühclaudischen Parallelen. Herdejürgens chronologische Interpretation des Sarkophages Caffarelli in frühclaudische Zeit, etwa 40 n.Chr., kann als endgültig betrachtet werden (s.u).

Nie hinterfragt wurde bisher die Ikonographie der Caffarelli-Girlanden. Ihrer Struktur lassen sich Einzelzüge ablesen, die über Herkunft und Zugehörigkeit der ausführenden Hände und ihrer Werkstatt Aufschluß zu geben vermögen. Drei Girlanden des Caffarelli-Sarkophages geben ihre typologische Bindung an Attika deutlich zu erkennen (s.u.). Es sind die Girlanden der Vorderseite und die rechte der Rückseite.[4] Die Anordnung der Früchte an diesen drei Girlanden entspricht der an den attischen Girlandensarkophagen. Insbesondere die Analyse des Mittelteils der Girlanden (nicht der linken Rückseiten-Girlande) erweist die formale Verwandtschaft sowohl mit den später einsetzenden attischen Girlandensarkophagen als auch mit der späthellenistischen Girlande eines attischen Grabaltars in Athen, der dem ausgehenden 1. Jh. v.Chr. angehört.[5] Die Caffarelli-Girlanden stehen zum einen in attischer Typentradition und weisen zum anderen auf den Fortbestand des Typus an den attischen Girlandensarkophagen. Struktur und Gliederung der drei genannten Girlanden am Caffarelli-Sarkophag spiegeln so offensichtlich die Typik attischer Girlanden, daß die Bindung der ausführenden Meister an ihre griechische Werkstatt nicht abgebrochen gewesen sein kann. Die attische Werkstatt entsandte ihre Steinmetze nach Rom, oder der Auftraggeber ließ den Sarkophag Caffarelli in Athen arbeiten. Der in Rom arbeitende griechische Bildhauer setzte nicht nur römische Bildthemen mit geschulter

Hand um, sondern ließ griechische Motive in das gewünschte Bildprogramm einfließen. Ein Spezialauftrag eines Römers an eine Werkstatt in Athen kann die Singularität des Stückes erklären helfen.

Die komplizierte kunstgeschichtliche Stellung des Caffarelli-Sarkophages wäre folgende: Inspiriert durch pergamenische Reliefs arbeiten griechische Bildhauer im Auftrag des jungen Imperiums und seines Imperators für die Staatskunst in Rom.[6] Hier entsteht der augusteische Klassizismus. Sein berühmtestes Monument ist die Ara Pacis Augustae.[7] Wie diese so ist auch der Sarkophag Caffarelli ein hochoffizielles Monument frühkaiserzeitlicher Repräsentation. Opfergerät und die Lorbeerbäumchen weisen ihn als ein römisches Auftragswerk aus. Der Reliefstil seiner Girlanden unterscheidet sich nachhaltig von dem der raumhaltigen Ara Pacis-Girlanden;[8] der Sarkophag Caffarelli ist ein halbes Jahrhundert später als die Ara Pacis entstanden. Wenn sich sodann die Struktur seiner Girlanden an den attischen, nicht aber an stadtrömischen oder italischen Girlandensarkophagen der Folgezeit wiederfindet, so ist aus diesem Faktum folgender Schluß zu ziehen: Die für römische Auftraggeber der frühen Kaiserzeit arbeitenden Steinmetze standen in griechischer Werkstatt-Tradition. Diese setzte sich nicht in Rom und Italien, sondern in ihrem Herkunftsland Attika fort. Es muß also ihre Rückwanderung nach Athen und die Übernahme eines Kunstzweiges aus Rom in attische Werkstätten[9] gegeben haben. Oder aber der Sarkophag Caffarelli wurde nach vorhandenen Girlandenmustern in Athen hergestellt und fügte sich einer lebendigen Tradition ein. Wann dann die Serienproduktion attischer Girlandensarkophage einsetzt, ist völlig offen. Ihr Beginn wird von G. Koch vage mutmaßend gegen 140 n.Chr., aber auch gegen 125 n.Chr. angenommen, von F. Işık gegen 120 n.Chr.[10] Datierende Anhaltspunkte fehlen. Es bestünde demnach zwischen dem Sarkophag Caffarelli (40 n.Chr.) und den frühen attischen Girlandensarkophagen eine Zeitspanne von 80 Jahren, das sind drei Generationen. Dieses Dilemma ist in hohem Grade unbefriedigend. Da es im späteren 1. und frühen 2. Jh. n.Chr. in Kleinasien Girlandensarkophage gegeben hat (s.u.), sind Reliefgirlanden, an Sarkophagen, Ostotheken oder Aren, auch für Attika anzunehmen. Nach dieserart Zwischengliedern zu forschen, wird mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit eine dichtere Kette ihrer Überlieferung bestätigen.

Etwas länger als die Tradition der attischen Girlandensarkophage zeigt sich die der attischen Girlande als solcher. Ein identischer Typus existiert mindestens seit dem Späthellenismus des ausgehenden 1. Jhs. v.Chr. Er begegnet auf einer Grabara im Athener Nationalmuseum.[11] An der einen Seite der Ara hängt eine attische Girlande an zwei Stierköpfen. Die Girlande ist in ihrer Mitte durch eine Umschnürung unterteilt. Beidseitig der mittleren Umschnürung zieht sich je eine vertikale Staffel dreier Granatäpfel hoch. Beide Girlandenhälften sind in ihrer Mitte noch einmal umschnürt. Diese seitlichen Umschnürungen entsprechen denen der Caffarelli-Girlanden sowie auch solchen der kaiserzeitlichen Girlandensarkophage Attikas. Begleitende Ähren, Blüten und Trauben verzahnen sich eng. Es liegt das gleiche Schema vor wie an den späteren Girlanden der attischen Sarkophage. Der Typus der attischen Girlande ist also bereits etwa fünfzig Jahre vor dem Caffarelli-Sarkophag nachweisbar, spiegelt sich, wie zu zeigen sein wird, in dessen Girlanden und lebt an den attischen Girlandensarkophagen des 2. Jhs. n.Chr. in verstärktem Umfang weiter.

BESCHREIBUNG DER GIRLANDEN AM SARKOPHAG CAFFARELLI

Die vier Fruchtgirlanden von Vorder- (*Abb. 1*) und Rückseite des Sarkophages Caffarelli sind weder stereotyp noch symmetrisch zusammengesetzt. Ihr Umfang verändert sich zwischen den Enden und der Mitte leicht. Die Mitte hängt nicht schwer durch; die Bögen sind verhältnismäßig flach. Hauptbestandteil des Fruchtgewindes ist der Granatapfel; des weiteren gibt es Pinienzapfen, Piniennadeln, Eicheln, Ähren, Trauben und Weinblätter. Die Granatäpfel werden von verschiedenen Seiten und in unterschiedlichem Reifezustand gezeigt. Etliche sind von vorn gesehen und wirken so mit Stempel und Radialkerben blütenähnlich. Andere sind seitlich aufgeplatzt; man sieht die Fruchtkerne. Wieder andere sind nicht an den Seiten, sondern vorn aufgeplatzt und haben eine Tulipa-ähnliche Silhouette, die wie eine Haselnuß aussieht. Hauchdünn zeichnen sich zumeist an den oberen Rändern der Girlanden Lorbeer- und Eichenblättchen ab. Es gibt auch einige anemonenartige, rundblättrige Blüten. Solche erscheinen öfter auf der unten rauh belassenen Rückseite[12] des Sarkophages, wo auch, im Gegensatz zur Vorderseite, längere Zweiglein den oberen Girlandenrand begleiten. Die annähernd gleichgroßen Früchte erscheinen überall in gedrängter Fülle.[13] Selten sticht ein Blättchen aus der Tiefe hervor und streift eine Frucht. Die Früchte liegen sowohl parallel zum Grund als auch quer und in Schrägansichten. Die feinen Blättchen an den Rändern sind stets zur Mitte hin ausgerichtet.

Alle Einzelheiten sind mit Sorgfalt ausgeführt und identifizierbar. Die Arbeit des Meißels wird von der des Bohrers unterstützt. Das Gesamtbild ergibt ein dichtes Gewebe plastischer Details, die von vergleichsweise scharfen Schatten konturiert werden. Die einzelnen, etwa gleichgroßen Früchte liegen dicht gedrängt. Die säuberlich unterschiedenen Formen der zahlreichen Einzelglieder sind in verschiedener Perspektive richtig zueinander gelagert. Die Kontur der Früchte wird einheitlich durch saubere bis scharfe Bohrung hervorgehoben. Auch Weintrauben und Weinblätter werden einzeln umrissen. Ansatzweise gibt es Punktbohrung und fein belassene Stege. Die Verwendung des Bohrers ist von maßgeblicher Bedeutung für die Wirkung des Reliefs. Die knappen, aber tiefen Zwischenräume ergeben Hell-Dunkel-Effekte. Komposition und Ausführung wirken unruhig. Die Glieder der Girlande erscheinen künstlich zusammengedrängt. Ihr plastisches Volumen entfaltet sich in nur einer Reliefschicht, sodaß die Girlande insgesamt flach ist und keine Räumlichkeit erkennen läßt. Am oberen und unteren Girlandenrand erscheinen halb verdeckte Blättchen in schemenhaft flachem Relief, die aber keine plastische Tiefenführung zu vermitteln vermögen. Die in zwei Dimensionen gestaffelten Früchte liegen, mehr oder weniger scharf begrenzt, in ein und derselben Reliefebene.

Vorder- und Rückseitengirlanden unterscheiden sich hinsichtlich der ausführenden Hände und Temperamente. Die Doppelgirlande der Rückseite ist weniger engmaschig gewirkt; die Früchte sind lockerer aufeinander bezogen und greifen natürlicher ineinander. Große Weinblätter überziehen hier die halbe Girlandenbreite; die Pinienzapfen hängen luftiger im Raum. Es gibt mehr quer zum Grund stehende, lückenfüllende Blättchen. Die lockere Natürlichkeit der aus der Tiefe hervordrängenden Vielfalt organischer Gebilde an der Ara Pacis erreichen auch die Caffarelli-Girlanden der Rückseite bei weitem nicht.[14]

STILISTISCHE PARALLELEN ZU DEN CAFFARELLI-GIRLANDEN

Die überzeugend in spättiberische Zeit datierte Fruchtgirlande des römischen Grabaltars 848[15] kann in ihrer durch Bohrungen konturierten, dichten Fruchtfolge den Caffarelli-Girlanden unmittelbar in Parallele gesetzt werden. Diese kann weiter auch mit dem Reliefstil der claudischen Ara 702 in Rom verglichen werden. Aber die gegen 50 n.Chr. zu datierende Ara 703 dürfte das Relief Caffarelli an Unruhe schon übertreffen. Die Ara der Iulia Panthea[16] wird zwar tiberisch angesetzt. Ihr Relief mit tiefen, à jour-artigen Bohrungen entspricht aber dem an 703, wird also nachtiberisch, d.h. mindestens zehn Jahre später und wie die Ara 703 gegen 50 n.Chr. entstanden sein. Die Caffarelli-Girlande ist dichter gefüllt, natürlicher empfunden und daher etwas älter. Der schon von Rodenwaldt verglichene Geniusaltar in Neapel,[17] dessen stilistische Handhabung dieselbe ist wie an den Caffarelli-Girlanden, dessen handwerkliche Ausführung nur salopper erscheint, charakterisiert seinerseits die Gruppe um die Caffarelli-Reliefs von etwa 40 n.Chr. Der Schwung ihrer gerieften Tänien entspricht einander unmittelbar. Der von Herdejürgen konstatierte 'Hang zu strenger Ordnung'[18] claudischer Girlanden gegenüber solchen aus tiberischer Zeit träfe für die Caffarelli-Vorderseite mehr zu als für die lockerer gearbeiteten Girlanden seiner Rückseite. Der fest auf das Jahr 47 n.Chr. datierte Altar des Licinius Crassus 643[19] schließlich verwendet lockere Füllsel wie die Caffarelli-Rückseite und weist eine Zweierreihung der Früchte wie auf der Caffarelli-Vorderseite. Die Schattierung durch Bohrlinien sowie eine gewisse Vielfalt der Motive entsprechen dem Caffarelli-Stil eng. Am Relief einer Graburne im Museo Nuovo[20] ist die variable Lagerung verschiedener Früchte in einer Ebene großräumiger und lockerer gegliedert. D. Mustilli datiert sie großzügig und etwas zu spät in die zweite Hälfte des 1. Jhs. n.Chr.

TYPOLOGISCHE PARALLELEN ZU DEN CAFFARELLI-GIRLANDEN

Wie oben erwähnt, sind Beobachtungen zur Struktur seiner Vorderseiten-Girlanden (*Abb. 1*) geeignet, den Caffarelli-Sarkophag aus seiner typologischen Isolierung zu lösen. Charakteristisch ist die Zusammensetzung der durchhängenden Girlandenmitte. Hier greift das Früchtegewinde nicht in natürlich loser Folge ineinander wie z.B. an der linken Rückseiten-Girlande. Es liegen sich vielmehr zwei vertikal gestaffelte Riegel von Granatäpfeln gegenüber. Zwischen ihnen bleibt ein leerer Spalt, der formal nicht durchdacht ist. Das Zusammentreffen der geschichteten Granatäpfel in der Mitte der Girlande fällt zwar trotz des leeren Zwischenraumes[21] nicht als besonders unnatürlich auf. Es wird auch nicht etwa durch die Umwicklung mit einer Tänie motiviert; denn es sind dünne, kaum erkennbare Bänder vorhanden, die beide Hälften umwickeln, ohne aufzufallen oder in die Struktur des Fruchtgewindes sichtbar einzugreifen.

Dieser Spalt zwischen vertikal gestaffelten Granatäpfeln in der Mitte der Girlanden ist Kenn-

zeichen des attischen Girlandentyps. Er findet sich an allen attischen Girlandensarkophagen, wo er als krasser Einschnitt deutlich ins Auge fällt.[22] Dieser unnatürliche Hiat in Girlandenmitte erscheint als unorganische Zweiteilung des Fruchtgewindes. An dem attischen Girlandensarkophag 25[23] in Antakya (*Abb. 16*) entstand durch unreflektierte Routine ein enorm breiter Spalt von mehreren cm.

Die Caffarelli-Girlanden werden im Folgenden solchen an attischen Sarkophagen gegenübergestellt. Beider typologische Zusammengehörigkeit wird demonstriert. Anschließend werden Girlandensarkophage römisch-italischer Provenienz mit den Caffarelli-Girlanden verglichen. Zwischen ihren Fruchtgirlanden und denen des Caffarelli-Sarkophages zeichnet sich eine strukturelle Verwandtschaft oder eine typologische Entwicklung nicht ab. Damit erweisen sich die Caffarelli-Girlanden als attisch.

Die Reihenfolge der herangezogenen Beispiele orientiert sich an ihrer Aussagekraft, weniger an ihrer Chronologie.

An den Rückseiten-Girlanden des Pariser Amazonomachie-Sarkophages 36[24] sind seitliche Tänienumwicklungen angegeben. Entsprechend kann hier der Mittelspalt ebenfalls als Einschnitt durch eine Umwicklung verstanden werden. Die Struktur der Caffarelli-Girlanden kehrt wieder. Es sind dies die zwei senkrechten Riegen dreier Granatäpfel in der Girlandenmitte. Die vertikal gestaffelten Granatäpfel erscheinen knotig und kompakt. Sie werden von Ährenrispen begleitet, die in der Girlandenmitte einander begegnen. Feine Blättchen ziehen sich am oberen Girlandenrand hin. Die typischen Kompositionsmerkmale der attischen Girlandensarkophage[25] finden sich sowohl am frühen Sarkophag Caffarelli wie am späteren Amazonomachie-Sarkophag des 2. Jhs. n.Chr. in Paris: Der Leerstreifen im Zentrum der hängenden Girlande zwischen zwei vertikalen Granatapfelleisten und seitlich davon zur Mitte hin gebogene Kornähren. Der Dachdeckel-Sarkophag mit fliegendem Putto und steil aufwärts jagenden Löwen- und Pantherbigen in Athen 20[26] zeichnet die vertikalen Fruchtriegel in Girlandenmitte perspektivisch und nicht stereotyp. Weder klafft der Spalt in unverständlicher Weise noch wird er ungeschickt vertuscht. Die senkrechte Mittellinie ist hier scharf eingeschnitten und wird durch eine schmale Tänie motiviert. Schräge Kordeln umschlingen noch einmal beide Girlandenhälften. Der Athener Sarkophag 20 ist aufgrund seiner noch nicht abgegriffenen Motive, etwa der Armhaltung des Putto, früh anzusetzen. Auch der Athener Sarkophag 8 (*Abb. 2-5*) ist früh zu datieren, und zwar aufgrund fehlender Bohrungen. Er ist nicht zu Ende ausgearbeitet. Die herabhängenden Tänien, die Ährenrispen sowie die Löwenmähne mit anschließendem Reliefgrund stehen an der linken Nebenseite noch in Bosse (*Abb. 4*). Die rechte Nebenseite (*Abb. 3*) und die Frontseite mit Adler (*Abb. 2*) zeigen, wie sich der Steinmetz Gedanken um den breiten, sinnlosen Mittelspalt der Girlanden macht: Der vertikale Zwischenraum ist hier nicht etwa als Umschnürung gekennzeichnet, sondern andeutungsweise mit Relief feiner Blättchen versehen. Dieserart Kaschierung des traditionellen Einschnitts in die Girlande ist ohne Parallele. An der Rückseite mit abfliegendem Putto und an der linken, noch unfertigen Seite fehlt dieses Blättchenrelief über dem Spalt. Die Rückseiten- Girlanden des Istanbuler Erotensarkophages 18[27] mit stützendem Putto machen keine Umwicklungen deutlich, sodaß der Mittelspalt unverständlich wirkt. Ein verschollener Sarkophag ehemals in Broom Hall (Schottland) 12[28] ist ein typisches Beispiel mit deutlichen Schnüren in den seitlichen Hälften und drei übereinander gestaffelten Granatäpfeln beidseitig des leer belassenen Mittelstreifens zwischen ihnen.

Ihm steht in der stilistischen Ausführung der Sarkophag 10 in Antakya, inv. 15948 (*Abb. 9-14*),[29] nahe. Wie an dem ehem. in Broom Hall werden alle Details der Girlande mit tiefen Bohrkanälen umrandet. An den Schleifen sind Stege belassen. Der bislang unpublizierte attische Girlandensarkophag mit Dachdeckel 10 in Antakya soll hier kurz insgesamt bekannt gemacht werden: L 207 cm, mit Relief 213 cm; H 86 cm; T 89 cm, mit Relief 98 cm. Deckel H 47 cm; L 228 cm; T 108 cm. Die Nasen der Sphinx und des linken Eros in der Löwenbiga sind bestoßen.

Geschwungene Akrotere, ohne Relief. Das Dach des Deckels ist mit blattförmigen Ziegeln mit Mittelrippe gedeckt. Mehrfach profilierte Boden- und Abschlußleiste des Kastens. Alle vier Seiten schmücken dicke Fruchtgirlanden. Sie sind an den Ecken mit breiten Tänienschleifen über Boukephala befestigt. Jede Girlandenhälfte ist von einer Schnur umwickelt. Die Mitte der Girlanden weist keine Umwicklung durch eine Tänie auf. Hier klafft der breite, unorganische Spalt attischer Girlanden. Auf der Frontseite (*Abb. 9*) stützt ein Putto mit Korkenzieherlocken und Scheitelzopf zwei zusammengebundene Girlanden. Er setzt auf halbkugelartiger Basis zum Abflug an. Sein linker Arm greift von vorn um die Tänienschleife; sein rechter legt sich abwärts hinter das Schleifenband. In den Girlandenbögen stehen geflügelte

Eroten in Ausfallstellung in einer Biga, einen Siegerkranz jeweils in der ausgestreckten Rechten. Der linke Kampfwagen (*Abb. 11*) wird von zwei Löwen gezogen, der rechte (*Abb. 12*) von zwei Panthern.

An der Rückseite (*Abb. 10 und 13*) stützt ein Adler die Bindestellen zweier Girlanden. Der Adler ist ein aus der Staatskunst übernommenes Symbol für die aufsteigende Seele und erscheint sehr häufig in der Grabkunst. Er steht im Viertelprofil nach links, wendet aber den Kopf zurück. Mit seiner linken, halbgeöffneten Schwinge greift er unter die rechte Girlande. Diese linke Schwinge ist so nahezu verdeckt; doch zeichnet sich ihr äußerer Rand mit Deck- und Schwungfedern über der Girlande ab. Die rechte Schwinge ist vor der Girlande voll sichtbar. Ihr oberer Rand wölbt sich aus der Tiefe des Rückens vor. Die Federn des göttlichen Tiers sind sorgfältig unterschieden und fein ausgearbeitet. Die Deckfedern an Hals, Schwingen, Brust und Ständern sind nicht stereotyp, sondern in unterschiedlicher Größe und Lagerung, teils steifer abstehend ausgeführt. Mächtig bauschen sich die Hals- und Ständerfederbüschel. Die Schwanz- und Schwungfedern unterscheiden Kiel und dichte Schrägriefelung deutlich. Voluminös sind die Krallen herausmodelliert; realistisch deutet sich die faltige Hornhaut an den Ständern unten an. In den Girlandenbögen sitzen naturalistisch modellierte Löwenköpfe mit strähniger Mähne.

Auf der rechten Schmalseite (*Abb. 14*) hockt, in Blickrichtung zur Frontseite mit den Erotenbigen, die große Sphinx, das traditionelle Schmalseitenmotiv, direkt auf der Girlande. Der lange Schwanz ist S-förmig aufwärts geschwungen. Körper, Pranken und Flügel sind detailliert wiedergegeben. Der weibliche Oberkörper und das Gesicht haben zarte Formen. Das leicht gewellte und fein gesträhnte Haar ist nach hinten gestrichen. Auf der linken Schmalseite erscheint über der Girlande ein gleicher Löwenkopf wie über den Girlanden der Rückseite. Alle sechs Girlanden sind in der durchhängenden Mitte in der üblichen Art attischer Girlanden durch einen vertikalen Zwischenraum unterbrochen, der nicht kaschiert wird. An den seitlichen Girlandenhälften werden dünne Schnüre deutlich. Die zwölf Girlandenenden sind mit sechs großen Schleifen zusammengebunden. Breite Bänder mit runden Enden und einem fadenartigen Fortsatz fallen von ihnen herab.

Die Figurenreliefs, auch die Löwen- und Stierköpfe sind ohne Bohrer fein modelliert. Im Gegensatz zu Sorgfalt und Detailreichtum der figürlichen Reliefs sind alle Einzelformen der Fruchtgirlanden und der Schleifen durch dichte Punktbohrung bzw. Bohrkanäle konturiert. Belassene Stege sind allenthalben sichtbar. Offensichtlich sind zwei verschiedene Steinmetze an dem Sarkophag tätig gewesen. Die Unterschiede in der bildhauerischen Ausführung sind eklatant. Die raumhaltige Bewegung des Vogelkörpers und die Charakterisierung des Gefieders sind keine Routinearbeit, sondern die eines Meisters. Die Schleifen und Girlanden sind im spätantoninischen Flimmerstil modelliert, der jedes Detail mit gebohrten Konturen umgibt. Zwischen den Bohrungen verbleiben nur allenthalben feine Marmorstege stehen. Der Sarkophag mit Erotenbigen, Adler und Sphinx in Antakya 10 (*Abb. 9-14*) ist ein typischer Vertreter der attischen Schule aus der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Er verwendet gängige Sepulkralsymbole, die ohne thematische oder kompositorische Rücksichten kombiniert werden. Die handwerkliche Ausführung aber, in Arbeitsteilung erstellt, erreicht ein künstlerisches Niveau, das über dem Durchschnitt liegt.

Ein Fragment in St. Petersburg 39 zeigt die dünnen Schnüre der seitlichen Umwicklungen, aber keine Einschnürung in der Girlandenmitte. Hier erscheint ein unsinniger, vertikaler Mittelgrat als schmal erhabenes Relief. Die zwei mittleren Granatapfelschichten liegen sich gegenüber; zu einer eleganten Verbindung, etwa durch unregelmäßige Schichtung, war der Steinmetz gedanklich nicht in der Lage. Die Vorgabe war die doppelte Granatapfel-Dreierreihe; er trennte sie statt sie zu verbinden. Die Ausarbeitung ist grob und routiniert. Am Athener Sarkophag mit Satyrköpfen 4 (*Abb. 8*)[30] scheinen die wuchtigen Früchte der zwei vertikalen Mittelriegen nicht fertig ausgearbeitet zu sein. Der mächtige Hiat zwischen ihnen wird nicht überbrückt. Die begleitenden Ährenrispen sind z.T. bossiert; die übrigen Girlandenteile erscheinen phantasielos vereinfacht. Der Sarkophag gilt aufgrund seiner niedrigen Höhe und glatten Dachfläche als früh,[31] was schon wegen der groben Lochbohrung seiner Girlanden nicht stimmen kann. Der Reliefstil früher Vertreter wie des Athener Girlandensarkophages 8 (*Abb. 2*) weicht von 4 stark ab. 8 bleibt ohne dessen nachhaltige Auflockerung durch reichliche Bohrungen, sondern besteht aus kompakt geschlossener, plastischer Form. Entweder ist der Deckel zu 4 nicht zugehörig, oder ein niedriger Deckel ist auch im 3. Jh. möglich, wie H. Wiegartz zu entnehmen ist.[32] Als 'früh' wird auch die Arbeit des Kindersarkophages mit Dachdeckel im Britischen Museum 1 (*Abb. 6 und 7*)[33] eingestuft. Spuren des Bohrers sind nicht erkennbar. Die großen Blätter und

Früchte greifen dicht ineinander. Der breite Mittelspalt könnte hier als Binde verstanden werden, die in das Fruchtgewinde einschnürt. Vorn überschreitet ein zum Flug ansetzender[34] Putto als Girlandenträger das Kastenprofil. Die ungewöhnliche Größe des Putto verzichtet auf ein Felsstück als Basis und nutzt geschickt die unteren Sarkophagprofile als Abflugbasis. Der Putto ist insgesamt mißproportioniert. Sein Körper mit Beinen und linkem Arm überzeugen. Aber die rechte, die Tänie umfassende Hand ist riesig und plump. Der Kopf wirkt wie von anderer Hand angesetzt und zu groß. Kopf und rechte Hand scheinen hier wiederum auf Arbeitsteilung an ein und demselben Stück hinzuweisen.

Verschiedene Hände ließen sich auch an dem oben behandelten jüngeren Sarkophag in Antakya 10 (*Abb. 9-14*) feststellen. Arbeitsteilung an einem 'frühen' Vertreter der Gattung wie dem Londoner Kindersarkophag 1 (*Abb. 6 und 7*) kann eher als sorglose Routine denn als tastender Versuch an einem neuen Sujet, der einsetzenden Produktion attischer Girlandensarkophage, verstanden werden. Eine derartige Routine aber deutet auf bestehende Tradition. Arbeitsteilung war auch den Girlanden des Caffarelli-Sarkophages abzulesen, dessen linke Rückseitengirlande vom Typus abweicht. Die Tradition in der Herstellung typisch attischer Girlanden läßt sich ja bis auf die späthellenistische Grabara in Athen[35] zurückverfolgen. Gegen 40 n.Chr. läßt sie sich dann am Caffarelli-Sarkophag fassen. Aus der Zeit zwischen dem Caffarelli-Sarkophag und den frühesten attischen Girlandensarkophagen ist bis heute kein weiteres Beispiel eines attischen Girlandenreliefs bekannt. Es muß aber Zwischenglieder an Grab- und Götteraren oder auch an Ostotheken gegeben haben. Nach solchen ist zu suchen. Der Beginn der Serienproduktion attischer Girlandensarkophage, nach Işık[36] gegen 120 n.Chr., ist in keiner Weise festgelegt. Eine erheblich frühere Fortführung von Girlandenreliefs auch an Sarkophagen in Attika bleibt offen. Denn es hat seit dem Hellenismus Girlandenreliefs in Kleinasien gegeben, (s.u.).

DER MITTELSPALT ATTISCHER GIRLANDEN

Der für attische Girlanden typische Mittelspalt kann ganz unsinnige, unreflektierte Formen annehmen. Offensichtlich wurden die eigentliche Bedeutung und das ursprüngliche Aussehen der Girlandenmitte bei späteren Routinearbeiten nicht mehr verstanden. Die rechte Nebenseite des Sarkophages in Antakya 25 (*Abb. 16*)[37] demonstriert eine derartige gedankenlose Wiedergabe. Die zwei seitlichen, schmalen Umwicklungen in der Mitte beider Girlandenhälften werden durch Punktbohrungen von den Früchten und Blättern abgesetzt und als solche kenntlich gemacht. In der durchhängenden Mitte aber klaffen die zwei vertikalen Früchteriegel an der schwersten Stelle der Girlande weit auseinander. Zwischen ihnen verbleibt ein leerer Streifen, der den Reliefgrund bis zu 3 cm breit sichtbar werden läßt. Diese widersinnige Trennung beider Girlandenhälften müßte dazu führen, daß sie von den Stierköpfen, über denen sie festgebunden sind, senkrecht herabfielen. Nur wenige Sarkophage aus der Hand 'denkender' Steinmetze zeigen an dieser Stelle eine umwickelnde Tänie. Es sind dies die Exemplare 11 von der Römischen Agora in Athen und, diesem verwandt, eine lokale Nachbildung eines attischen Vorbildes in Patras.[38] Weitere Girlandensarkophage mit logischer Umwicklung an der Stelle des Mittelspaltes sind 15 und 16[39] in Zypern. Alle vier letztgenannten sind lokale Imitationen attischer Girlandensarkophage. Der tradierten und ad absurdum geführten Form unverbunden gestaffelter Früchte in der Mitte der Girlande wurde eine realistische Erklärung unterlegt, die sich an den genuin attischen Girlandensarkophagen so nicht findet. Die brave Arbeit in Bellapais, Zypern 15 gibt ein mittleres Girlandenband ebenso wie zwei seitliche Umwicklungen mit aller Deutlichkeit an. Die bescheidene Arbeit ist plump, der Realitätssinn dagegen wach. Die groben Weinblätter und querstehenden Ährenrispen geben die lokale Imitation zu erkennen. Eine unabhängige Erfindung des lokalen Meisters ist auch die originelle Armhaltung der Putten. Die Arme erscheinen von den Bändern der Verbindungsschleifen mehrfach umwickelt.

Morphologisch betrachtet, bietet sich für die Entwicklungsphase der Girlande, die ihre mittleren Früchte nicht mehr verzahnt, sondern vertikal übereinander staffelt, als natürliche Erklärung an, daß hier eine umwickelnde Tänie angegeben war. Wurde diese nicht deutlich herausmodelliert, blieb ein leerer Spalt zurück. An dem Athener Grabaltar[40] mit seitlicher Girlande, der noch der späthellenistischen Epoche angehört, sind ein eng geschnürtes mittleres und ein seitliches Band vorhanden. Sein Girlandentypus mit zwei Reihen vertikal geschichteter Granatäpfel in der Mitte und gegenständigen Ährenrispen darüber entspricht genau dem der späteren attischen Girlandensarkophage. Ein chronologisches Kriterium ist dem Vorhandensein eines mittleren Tänienbandes - wie an den oben genanten vier provinziellen Imitationen in Athen, Patras und Zypern - nicht

zu entnehmen. Weder seine Vernachlässigung und Entstehung des widernatürlichen Spaltes noch dessen spätere Kaschierung durch eine Tänie lassen sich zeitlich fassen.

Die Caffarelli-Girlanden, ihre charakteristische Mitte der Granatapfelschichten und die seitliche Umwicklung mit Kordeln oder Bändern (*Abb. 1*) sind nicht aus den Girlanden der Ara Pacis abzuleiten. Deren üppig quellendes, luftig komponiertes Gewinde kommt ohne Umschnürungen aus. Ihre wundervoll natürlichen Früchte, Blätter und Zweige werden unsichtbar zusammengehalten. Dasselbe gilt auch noch für die linke Rückseitengirlande des Sarkophages Caffarelli.[41] Die übrigen drei aber gehen auf eine andere - wie gezeigt wurde -, attische Werkstatttradition zurück. Wie die genannte späthellenistische Athener Grabara erweist, ist diese Tradition in Athen bereits vor der Zeit des Caffarelli-Sarkophages nachweisbar. Mag der Typus der Ara Pacis-Girlanden mit Ähren, losen Zweigen und feinen Blättchen an den Rändern auf die Gestaltung der linken Rückseitengirlande des Caffarelli-Sarkophages Einfluß ausgeübt haben, so weicht doch der phantasieärmere Aufbau seiner Vorderseiten-Girlanden mit sich wiederholenden Früchtereihen von der linken Rückseite ab. Die Komposition der Vorderseiten-Girlanden fußt auf einem bereits vorhandenen attischen Typus. Zu diesem gehören die Granatapfelschichten in der durchhängenden Mitte und der Spalt zwischen ihnen, weiter die Umschnürungen der Girlande an den seitlichen Hälften. Dieser Typus setzt sich dann am Genos der attischen Girlandensarkophage, nicht aber an dem der italisch-römischen Sarkophage fort. Einmal auf die Struktur attischer Sarkophaggirlanden aufmerksam geworden, ist die Annahme einer Fortentwicklung der Caffarelli-Girlanden zu denen römisch-italischer Sarkophage nicht mehr denkbar.

RÖMISCHE GIRLANDEN

Man könnte der Girlande des vatikanischen Sarkophages 78[42] eine der Caffarelli-Girlande vergleichbare Struktur ablesen. Feine Blättchen begleiten den oberen Rand. Aber die Knospen zwischen ihnen sind neu. Die Form der knolligen Früchte ist uniformer angelegt als am Sarkophag Caffarelli. Es fehlt insbesondere die vertikale Schnittstelle in Girlandenmitte. Genau in der Mitte sitzt hier eine nur teilweise sichtbare Blüte. Eine dekorative Girlande in Paris[43] aus der frühen Kaiserzeit mit Patera und Kännchen in den Bögen ist gröber gearbeitet und einfacher gefügt als die Caffarelli-Girlande. Sie ist offensichtlich nicht von griechischer Hand geschaffen; denn es fehlt ihr die gliedernd ausbalancierte Symmetrie der Caffarelli- und der attischen Girlanden. Die vergleichsweise klobigen Früchte, auch die flachen Blättchen an den Rändern überschneiden sich kaum. Die Girlande ist weniger strukturiert als additiv komponiert. Ihre Komposition bleibt ohne das griechische Gefühl für Rhythmus und Symmetrie, wie dieses allen vier Girlanden des Caffarelli-Sarkophages abzulesen ist. Auch an der linken Rückseiten-Girlande[44] zeichnet sich - auch ohne Angabe der mittleren Zäsur - eine symmetrisch ausgewogene Anordnung der Einzelfrüchte und Blüten ab: Am unteren Rand bilden fünf mittlere Granatäpfel den Schwerpunkt. Es folgen seitlich jeweils Weinbeeren und Weinblätter; über ihnen je ein großer Granatapfel und eine von vorn gesehene offene Blüte. Am unteren Rand hängt hinter den Weinblättern je ein Pinienzapfen. Die Abfolge von Blättern, Früchten, Zapfen, Blüten und Ähren ist an der linken Rückseiten-Girlande zwar in keiner Weise stereotyp. Aber die Lagerung großer und kleiner Früchte zueinander ist dennoch rhythmisch strukturiert. Der Girlandenfries im Pariser Louvre bietet dagegen keine Variation seiner Bestandteile. Die rundlichen Früchte liegen, mehr oder weniger vertikal geschichtet, einfach nebeneinander. Am Baseler Sarkophag 16 begegnet statt Vielfalt der Früchte und ihrer ineinandergreifenden Komposition eine trockene Reihung weitläufig gelagerter gleichgroßer einzelner Früchte. Die propere, aber glatte Arbeit in Ostia 24 bemüht sich durch Einflechten kleiner Blättchen um natürliches Aussehen, vermag die Einzelglieder aber nicht wirklich zu verzahnen. Die Girlanden an 35 in Venedig, 59 im Nationalmuseum, Rom und 71 in Villa Doria Pamphili sind mit ihren isoliert gesehenen, großformatigen Früchten ähnlich wie 24 in Ostia komponiert. Die zwei kleinen Blütchen oberhalb der Mitte an 35 erscheinen ähnlich an der rechten Caffarelli-Rückseite in der Mitte am unteren Girlandenrand. Hier betonen sie die Mitte exakt unterhalb des Spaltes und haben strukturelle Funktion. Den aus der Achse geschobenen Blütchen von 35 fehlt diese Funktion. Sie berücksichtigen keine mittlere Senkrechte und sind unproportioniert zusammengequetscht. Die übergroßen Weinblätter sind nicht eingebunden und legen sich flach auf die Girlande. Wenn am attischen Girlandensarkophag 10 seitlich des Mittelspaltes am Stempel aufgeplatzte, blütenartig wirkende Granatäpfel erscheinen (*Abb. 11 und 13*), so geschieht dies in strukturierter Weise. Sowohl attische wie auch die Caffarelli-Girlanden sind stramm zusammengefügt, haben eine fortlau-

fende Kontur, ohne schlauchartig zu wirken. Die einzelne Frucht ordnet sich einem Gesamtrhythmus unter, kommt weniger als Individuum zur Geltung. Die Venediger Girlande 35 zerfließt; die Früchte sind mächtig und haben im Verhältnis zur Girlande ihr Eigengewicht. Die Girlande von 46 in Neapel zeigt symmetrische Gliederung mit Mittelachse. Die Granatäpfel liegen sich aber versetzt gegenüber; das sechste Glied ist hier ein Pinienzapfen. Durch die breit umhüllenden Weinblätter verliert die Girlande 46 sehr an Volumen; die Früchte wirken unplastisch. Daß eine Seite der Girlandenmitte anders gefüllt wird als die gegenüber liegende (Zapfen und Rispen) an 46 in Neapel und 50 in Ostia, ist unattisch. Die riesigen Weinblätter des Altares in Villa Borghese[45] sind nicht Glieder der Girlande, sondern umhüllen sie. Entsprechend klobig sind die Früchte. Sie sind additiv gelagert; sie greifen weder ineinander noch bilden sie die vertikale Mittellinie attischer Girlanden. Die stereotypen Früchte mit Hüllblatt von 134 in Rom, Via Ulpiano bilden zwar einen vertikalen Mittelspalt. Der Girlandentyp insgesamt kann aber schwerlich als Derivat der Caffarelli-Girlanden verstanden werden. An 70, 128 und 141 sowie am Fries vom Hadriansmausoleum[46] ist die vertikal übereinander gestaffelte Lagerung eintönig geformter, knolliger Früchte weder strukturiert noch gefällig in ihrer Anordnung. Die Girlande eines trajanischen Architekturfrieses in Ostia[47] ist zwar durch ein dünnes Bändchen mit unverhältnismäßig breiten Tänienenden in der Mitte umwickelt. Die dicken, seitlich des Bandes vertikal gestaffelten Früchte entsprechen auch der mittleren Granatapfelschichtung an attischen Girlanden. Aber die Häufung gleicher Früchte und Blüten sowie das Mißverhältnis zwischen dem Mittelband und seinen Ausläufern lassen sich nicht in die gleiche Bildtradition einordnen wie die Caffarelli-Girlanden. Der Schritt von der Mitte der linken Vorderseiten-Girlande des Caffarelli-Sarkophages (*Abb. 1*) etwa zu den attischen Sarkophaggirlanden K-S 1, 10-12, 14, 18, 20, 25, 36-37 (*Abb. 2-16*) ist mühelos nachvollziehbar; der zu den römischen Girlanden Herdejürgen 24, 35, 50-51, 56 indessen nicht.

DER SARKOPHAG CAFFARELLI UND DIE ATTISCHEN GIRLANDENSARKOPHAGE

Den Girlanden des Caffarelli-Sarkophages (*Abb. 1*) ist nicht anders als den Girlanden attischer Sarkophage (*Abb. 2-16*) ein Gefühl für Rhythmus und symmetrische Balance abzulesen. Um einiges vereinfacht, wiederholen sich die Grundzüge der Girlanden Caffarelli an den Girlanden der attischen Sarkophage: In der Girlandenmitte treffen zwei vertikal geschichtete Granatapfelriegel unverbunden aufeinander. Zwischen ihnen ergibt sich ein leerer Spalt; die mittleren Früchte greifen nicht, locker versetzt, ineinander. Zu Seiten des Mittelspaltes begegnen sich zwei Ährenrispen. Seitlich werden beide Girlandenhälften in ihrer Mitte umschnürt. Hier gliedern Kordeln die Girlanden und festigen ihre Struktur. Die Werkstatt, die gegen 40 n.Chr. den Sarkophag Caffarelli schuf, beschäftigte griechische Bildhauer. Diese Erkenntnis ist aus dem Vergleich mit den erst später einsetzenden attischen Girlandensarkophagen zu gewinnen. Gestützt wird diese Erkenntnis durch die späthellenistische Grabara in Athen,[48] die bereits denselben attischen Girlandentypus aufweist. Die attischen Girlandensarkophage können nach diesen Beobachtungen nicht ohne die Anregung durch eine bereits bestehende formale Tradition gearbeitet worden sein. Der Caffarelli-Sarkophag war ein Glied dieser Typenkette. Die Frage nach dem Fortbestand seiner Typentraditon bis zu den ersten attischen Girlandensarkophagen wurde oben bereits gestellt. Weder ist im geringsten klar, wie die Werkstattradition vonstatten ging, noch insbesondere, wann die ersten attischen Girlandensarkophage entstanden sind. Es wird vom Beginn ihrer Produktion gegen 120/125 oder 140 n. Chr. ausgegangen.[49] Diese Ansätze sind unglaubwürdig spät. Es hätte einen Stillstand in der Herstellung von Girlandensarkophagen über drei Generationen gegeben. Die Produktion attischer Girlandensarkophage muß, auch wenn Beispiele nicht nachgewiesen werden können, früher begonnen haben. Das Vorhandensein kleinasiatischer Girlandensarkophage im 1. Jh. v. sowie n.Chr. und weiter im frühen 2. Jh. n.Chr. (s.u.) stützt diese Annahme. Es scheint aber vorerst nicht möglich zu sein, ein missing link zwischen den Caffarelli-Girlanden und einem frühen Girlandensarkophag attischer Herkunft aufzuzeigen.

War die Kunst der frühen Prinzipatszeit Roms von der Tradition griechischer Kultur abhängig und auf die Übernahme griechischer Bildhauertradition angewiesen, so strahlt seit dem späten 1. Jh. n.Chr. die Zivilisation des jungen Kaiserreiches ihrerseits auf die Provinzen aus. Deren ehemals maßgeblicher Einfluß erhebt nun den Anspruch auf Teilhabe an der imperialen Kultur des neuen Zentrums. Anregungen und deren Auswirkungen verlagern sich vom ehemaligen Geberland Griechenland nunmehr zum Machtzentrum des Imperiums, Rom. Hier arbeiten griechische Künstler im Dienste imperialer Propagan-

da; hier ist auch der Caffarelli-Sarkophag in Auftrag gegeben oder wahrscheinlich sogar geschaffen worden. Dieser war nicht Glied einer Massenproduktion. Er war vielmehr ein Monument, das den höchsten Kreisen der Gesellschaft zugeordnet war. Als solches muß es berühmt gewesen sein. Seine singuläre Stellung im Rom seiner Zeit mag für seine Bekanntheit gesorgt und bei einsetzenden Aufträgen an attische Werkstätten einen maßgeblichen Einfluß ausgeübt haben. Das berühmte Monument könnte als Modell oder als Zeichnung eine zeitlang tradiert worden sein. Schon hier kann der anstößige Mittelspalt durch ein Mißverständnis entstanden sein.

FRÜHE KLEINASIATISCHE GIRLANDENSARKOPHAGE

Für Kleinasien gibt es eine Reihe von Hinweisen, daß schon im 1. Jh. v. und n.Chr. Girlandensarkophage hergestellt wurden. Sie stehen dort in der Tradition der hellenistischen Rundaltäre. V. Strocka datiert ein Girlandensarkophag-Fragment in Aydın ins 1. Jh. v.Chr.[50] Die Medusa eines Sarkophagdeckels in Hierapolis ist claudisch.[51] Der Girlandensarkophag in Uşak ist inschriftlich - ἔτους ϱ' - 'nach der spätestmöglichen und am Fundort üblichen aktischen Ära in das Jahr 100 = 69/70 n.Chr.' datiert.[52] Strocka rechnet mit Vorgängern dieses Typs im früheren 1. Jh. n.Chr.[53] Işık billigt allerdings dem datierten Einzelstück in Uşak keine Aussagekraft für die Chronologie früher kleinasiatischer Girlandensarkophage zu und setzt deren Beginn wie in Rom und Athen gegen 120 n.Chr. an.[54] Drei von Işık beigebrachte parallele Sarkophage (Işık 1977 Abb. 58-60) werden von ihm fälschlich antoninisch angesetzt. Die drei sogen. Parallelen sind stilistisch aber keine Einheit. Den datierten Sarkophag in Uşak (Strocka 1996 Abb. 18) zusammen mit dem in Manisa (Işık 1977 Abb. 59) flavisch zu verstehen, bietet keinerlei Schwierigkeit.[55] Als flavisch begründet Strocka auch den reich dekorierten Girlandensarkophag aus Germencik in Izmir.[56] Wie am Girlandensarkophag in Manisa umziehen hier tief gebohrte Konturen Früchte und Blätter. Die beiden Sarkophage mit schlauchartigen Girlanden (Işık 1977 Abb. 58 und 60) sind zwar jünger, aber längst noch nicht antoninisch. Sie gehören vielmehr der trajanischen Epoche an und kommen den Girlanden des Celsus Polemaeanus-Sarkophages in Ephesus nahe, der fest auf das Jahr 115 n. Chr. datiert ist.[57] Es hat in Kleinasien also nachgewiesenermaßen Girlandensarkophage lange vor 120 n.Chr. gegeben. Dieser Exkurs über frühe Girlandensarkophage in Kleinasien war nötig, um auf eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit einer ähnlichen Entwicklung auch in Attika zu verweisen.

SCHLUß

In Kleinasien war die Wiedergabe von Girlandenreliefs seit dem Hellenismus nie abgebrochen. Sarkophage mit Girlandendekor sind zwar spärlich, aber vorhanden. Für das Einsetzen der Produktion von Girlandensarkophagen in Attika (120/125/140 n.Chr.) sind die gängigen Zeitvorstellungen vage, widersprüchlich und weder durch datierte Einzelstücke noch Vergleiche mit bekannten Reliefs abgesichert. Hier erweist sich der Sarkophag Caffarelli als ein wichtiges Bindeglied in der Tradition der attischen Reliefgirlande. Gleichwie in Kleinasien ist die Reliefgirlande auch in Attika seit dem Hellenismus bis zum Beginn der Massenproduktion von Girlandensarkophagen nicht aus dem Repertoire dekorativer Reliefs verschwunden, sondern zumindest an einem Einzelstück nachgewiesen.

Gleichwohl ist seine Stellung als Bindeglied innerhalb der Typentradition immer noch unbefriedigend. Zwischen ihm (40 n.Chr.) und den frühesten attischen Girlandensarkophagen (120 n.Chr.) bestünde ein Zeitraum von drei Generationen. Eine derartige Chronologie ist unglaubwürdig. Da sich die Girlande am späthellenistischen Grabaltar in Athen mühelos im Zusammenhang mit den kaiserzeitlichen Sarkophag-Girlanden verstehen läßt, war ihre Typentradition nicht abgestorben. Zwischen 40 und 120 n.Chr. ist unzweifelhaft mit missing links zu rechnen. Solche gab es möglicherweise an weiteren Grabaltären. Diese würden zwar das Fortleben der attischen Girlande belegen, nicht aber den Beginn der Produktion von Girlandensarkophagen klären. Die vorangehenden Beobachtungen und Überlegungen sollten dazu dienen, ein Streiflicht auf den attischen Typus der Caffarelli-Girlanden zu werfen, insbesondere auf ihre Struktur mit Mittelspalt hinzuweisen, der Kennzeichen der attischen Girlande ist.

ANMERKUNGEN

1 Rodenwaldt 1925.
2 Brandenburg 1978, 304-308; Ambrogi 1990, 164.
3 Herdejürgen 1996, 18.
4 Rodenwaldt 1925, Taf. 2 links.
5 Altmann 1905, 6-7, Abb. 3.
6 Kraus 1953, 46, 50-51.
7 Daß die Reliefs keineswegs unter Ausschluß einheimisch-italischer Steinmetz-Tradition gearbeitet wurden, hat Conlin 1997, *The Artists of the Ara Pacis*, gezeigt.

[8] Rodenwaldt 1925, 21-24.
[9] Wenn überhaupt mit mehreren attischen Werkstätten zu rechnen ist. K-S 460 und Rogge 1993, 121 sprechen von einer Werkstatt; Himmelmann 1974, 14 von einer weiteren in Kephissia.
[10] K-S 436, 438, 470; Koch 1993, 106; Işık 1977, 380-382.
[11] s.o. Anm. 5.
[12] Rodenwaldt 1925, Taf. II.
[13] Die Beschreibung des Reliefstils durch Rodenwaldt 1925, 21, 24 ist grundlegend und endgültig.
[14] Herdejürgen 1996, 8.
[15] Die Ziffern entsprechen den Kat.-Nrn. bei Boschung 1987. Herdejürgen 1996, 18, Taf. 110, 3.
[16] *Bildkatalog der Skulpturen des vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1995, Taf. 411.
[17] Herdejürgen 1996, 18, Taf. 110, 2.
[18] Herdejürgen 1996, 19.
[19] Altmann 1905, Abb. 22.
[20] Mustilli 1939, 44 Nr. 26, Taf. 26.
[21] Himmelmann 1974, 144; K-S 435.
[22] K-S 435, Taf. 467-471. G. Koch erklärt diesen 'Einschnitt' nicht, s.o. Anm. 6.
[23] Die Nummern der attischen Girlandensarkophage beziehen sich auf K-S 438-441.
[24] Baratte/Metzger 1985, 256-261 Nr. 166.
[25] Vgl. K-S 435, Taf. 467-471.
[26] Alexandri 1969, 63, Taf. 54 b; K-S 640; Schauenburg 1995, 99 Nr. 150, Taf. 59, 3; Rogge 1993, 38 Anm. 148.
[27] Koch 1977, 114-115 mit Anm. 14, Abb. 4; K-S 647.
[28] Altmann 1902, 59-60, Abb. 22; Michaelis 1884, 154-155 Nr. 22; Koch 1982, 184 Nr. 19.
[29] K-S 638; Rogge 1993, 112 Anm. 28; Koch 1989, 183; Schauenburg 1995, 26, 40, 46 mit Anm. 269; 58, 99 Nr. 147, Taf. 58, 1 und 59, 1.
[30] Himmelmann 1970, 18 mit Anm. 3; Rogge 1993, 112, Taf. 47, 1; K-S 640.
[31] Rogge 1993, 112 mit Anm. 27, Taf. 47, 1.
[32] Wiegartz 1975, 209.
[33] Giuliano 1978, 16, Taf. 20. 47; Walker 1990, 46 Nr. 56, Taf. 23 (die Inventar-Nr. ist dort falsch angegeben; sie lautet: 1861.7-24.13); Koch 1991, 214.
[34] Die Putten attischer Sarkophage werden auf jüngeren Arbeiten, als es der Kindersarkophag in London ist, durch ihre schräge Körperhaltung als fliegend, nicht als schwebend gekennzeichnet, vgl. den oben erstmals beschriebenen Girlandensarkophag in Antakya 10, Abb. 9. Dennoch stemmen sich ihre Füße von einem Felsstück ab, wie es auch der eher schwebend als fliegend dargestellte Putto auf dem frühen Sarkophag in Athen 8, Abb. 5 tut. Sie setzen also zum Flug an und fliegen noch nicht.
[35] s.o. Anm. 5.
[36] s.o. Anm. 10.
[37] *Gazette archéologique* 1885 Taf. 29; Reinach 1912, 98, 1-4; Himmelmann 1970, 12-14, Abb. 10, Taf. 15-17; Koch 1973, 200-201; Koch 1989, 186-187, 208, Abb. 31, 60; Giuliano/Palma 1978, 13 Nr. 3, Taf. 3. 5; Rogge 1993, 112, 114-115 mit Anm. 52, Taf. 46. 3; Rogge 1995, 38 Anm. 148; KS 638.
[38] Koch 1993, 112, Abb. 77.
[39] Himmelmann 1970, 21, Taf. 19-21; K-S 641. 645; Rogge 1993, 112 Anm. 25.
[40] s.o. Anm. 5. Die noch erkennbare Totenmahlszene datiert die Ara um die Zeitenwende.
[41] s.o. Anm. 4.
[42] Die Ziffern entsprechen den Kat.-Nrn. der römischen Girlandensarkophage bei Herdejürgen 1996.
[43] Gusman 1914, Taf. 3.
[44] Rodenwaldt 1925, Taf. 2.
[45] Gusman 1914, Taf. 174.
[46] Herdejürgen 1996, Taf. 111, 7.
[47] Becatti 1943-1945, 44, Abb. 6.
[48] s.o. Anm. 5.
[49] K-S 436; Koch 1993, 106; Işık 1977, 380-382.
[50] Strocka 1978, 894-897, Taf. 203; Strocka 1996, 459-461, Abb. 6-8,12, 14.
[51] Strocka 1996, 466 Abb. 30.
[52] K-S 520, Abb. 507; Strocka 1996, 464 mit Anm. 49, Abb. 18.
[53] Strocka 1978, 905, 913.
[54] Işık 1977, 380-382; dagegen Strocka 1996, 456-457.
[55] Vgl. Strocka 1996, 464.
[56] Strocka 1978, 905-911, Abb. 23-33; Strocka 1996, 464-466 mit Anm. 51, Abb. 19, 20, 22, 24, 26.
[57] K-S 520, Taf. 505-506; Strocka 1967, 900 mit Anm. 69, Taf. 215; Strocka 1996, 466 Abb. 32-33, 36.

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Abb. 1. Sarkophag Caffarelli, Vorderseite. Berlin, Antikensammlung (Foto J. Laurentius).

Abb. 2. Attischer Girlandensarkophag Inv. 1180, Athen, Nationalmuseum. Vorderseite (Foto G. Hellner).

Abb. 3. Wie Abb. 2. Rechte Nebenseite.

Abb. 4. Wie Abb. 2. Linke Nebenseite.

Abb. 5. Wie Abb. 2. Rückseite.

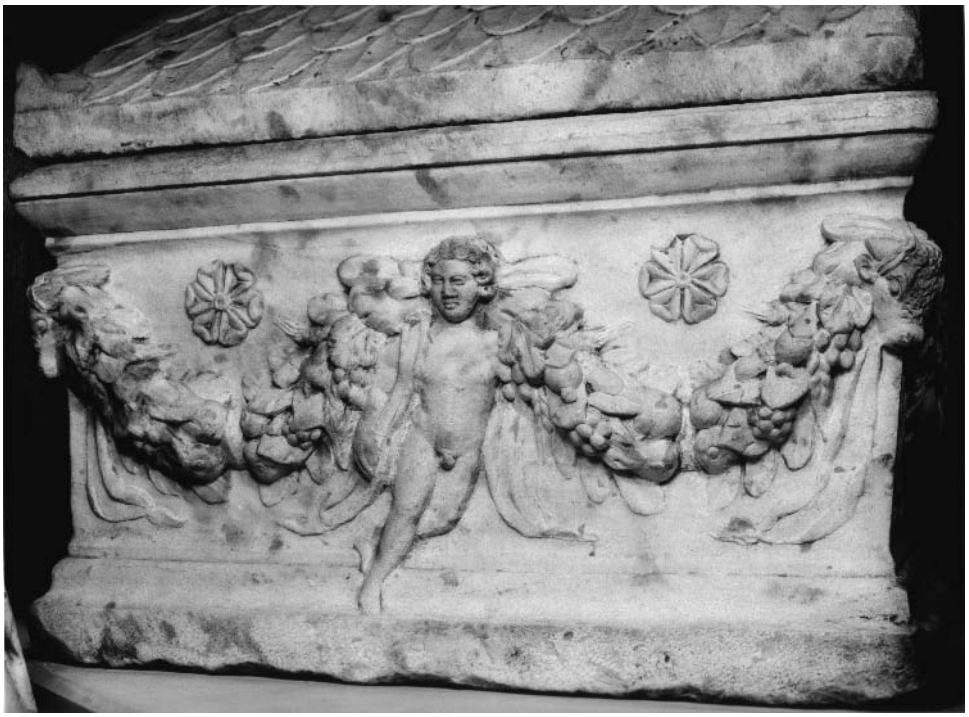

Abb. 6. Attischer Girlanden-Kindersarkophag Inv. GR 1861.7-24.13, Britisches Museum. Vorderseite (Foto B. Albert).

Abb. 7. Wie Abb. 6. Rechte Nebenseite.

Abb. 8. Attischer Girlandensarkophag Inv. 1191, Athen, Nationalmuseum (Foto Alinari 24348).

Abb. 9. Attischer Girlandensarkophag Inv. 15948, Antakya. Frontseite (Foto V. Vaelske).

Abb. 10. Wie Abb. 9. Rückseite.

Abb. 11. Wie Abb. 9. Frontseite, Löwenbiga.

Abb. 12. Wie Abb. 9. Frontseite, Pantherbiga.

Abb. 13. Wie Abb. 9. Rückseite, Detail.

Abb. 14. Wie Abb. 9. Rechte Nebenseite.

Abb. 15. Attischer Girlandensarkophag Inv. 8473, Antakya (Foto J. Meischner).

Abb. 16. Wie Abb. 15. Rechte Nebenseite.

BABESCH 83 (2008), 171-185. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033106.

L'arredo statuario del complesso archeologico di Agnano. Scultori a Napoli nel II sec. d.C.

Armando Cristilli

Abstract

The four ideal sculptures (Venus Felix's type; Ganymede and Eros group; armoured Venus and Eros group; Hermes and child Dionysus group) at the frigidarium *of the bath at Agnano, situated at the 3rd mile along the* Via Puteolis-Neapolim*, offer useful elements to identify sculptors' workshops active in Naples during the Roman period. All of these sculptures are dated to the middle of the 2nd century AD, are made of the same type of marble; they share congruent aesthetics, as well as stylistic and technical features. This may lead to argue that they belong to one specific workshop, likely to have been from Naples.*

Di tutti gli ambienti delle Terme di Agnano (*fig. 1*) indagati fino ad oggi, solo il *frigidarium* sembra aver restituito materiale pertinente al suo allestimento scultoreo,[1] attualmente conservato nel moderno stabilimento termale adiacente l'area archeologica. La necessità di un nuovo contributo[2] su queste sculture, già analizzate in varie eminenti pubblicazioni, risiede nella volontà di avviare un discorso più organico sulle esperienze figurative del territorio di Napoli in età romana, nel tentativo di individuarne forme e tecniche di produzione, oltre che di effettuarne un'analisi più adeguata agli studi recenti, così da recuperarne un'immagine il più possibile completa. Con questa prospettiva le sculture di Agnano sembrano offrire una quantità di informazioni, che fino ad ora non sono mai state opportunamente valorizzate e che, al contrario, possono ben accrescere il panorama della cultura di Napoli romana, oltre che fornire più precise indicazioni di dettagli, come, per esempio, la loro esatta collocazione originaria, la cui ricostruzione risulta ancora troppo macchinosa.

Nello specifico, quest'arredo statuario consiste in un insieme di quattro sculture ideali, una Venere tipo *Felix* più grande del vero e tre piccoli gruppi raffiguranti Ganimede con Eros, Afrodite armata con Eros e Hermes con Dioniso bambino (*figg. 2-11*). Circa la loro disposizione all'interno della sala, a ben vedere, non sussistono grosse perplessità. Per quanto la statua di Venere sia stata rinvenuta presso la scala di accesso al piano superiore sul lato nord del *frigidarium*, è verosimile che essa trovasse posto, piuttosto, lungo il lato occidentale,[3] 'vicino alla vasca [*scil*. rettangolare], quasi in atto di invitare pure i visitatori a immergercisi e a ungersi di preziosi aromi'.[4] Le sculture terzine, invece, dovevano decorare le tre nicchie sopra il bacino semicircolare dell'abside sud. Di esse, però, secondo V. Macchioro, il gruppo di Hermes trovava posto sulla base-pilastro tra le due vasche della sala, in virtù del fatto che la scultura fu rinvenuta riversa esattamente ai piedi di questa. In realtà, date le sue dimensioni, uguali a quelle degli altri due gruppi, ed al soggetto rappresentato, non va scartata *a priori* la possibilità che essa occupasse una delle nicchie dell'abside insieme a Venere con Amore ed a Ganimede con Eros, ritrovate rovesciate nel bacino semicircolare e subito collegate alla sua decorazione. E, per la verità, una tale sistemazione a completamento dell'arredo scultoreo dell'abside del *frigidarium* sembra decisamente più appropriata. Queste opere, come apprendiamo sempre da Macchioro, che registra notizie riferite dalla sig.ra Filo, figlia del loro scopritore, furono recuperate nel 1898, 'quando il cav. Giuseppe Schneer, testè defunto,[5] proprietario di quel tenimento [*scil*. di Agnano], le mise in luce, previa licenza di scavo, e sotto la diretta sorveglianza della soprintendenza degli scavi di Napoli; la quale tuttavia mai ne pubblicò pure un cenno nelle Notizie degli Scavi, mai provvide ad illustrarla, non ostante l'eccezionale importanza del monumento'.[6]

IL CONTESTO DI RITROVAMENTO (*fig. 1*)

Per quanto la conca vulcanica di Agnano costituisca il limite naturale dei Campi Flegrei ad est ed appaia in qualche modo separata dal sito antico di Napoli dalle alture del Vomero e dei Camaldoli, non sembra del tutto acclarato che in età romana ricadesse amministrativamente all'interno dell'*ager Neapolitanus*. Contro una tale interpretazione, in genere, viene opposto che nel periodo alto-medie-

Fig. 1. Napoli, Complesso archeologico di Agnano. Pianta (rielaborazione da Macchioro 1912).

vale Agnano rientrava nella diocesi della vicina Pozzuoli, il che suggeriva una sua precedente pertinenza a questa città. Ma, tale 'scissione' sarebbe avvenuta solo in un momento successivo a quello tardo-antico, coincidente con l'indebolimento del potere centrale e con la graduale decadenza di Napoli, e, soprattutto, si limiterebbe esclusivamente all'ambito religioso. A favore di un'Agnano neapolitana, invece, vengono in aiuto le indicazioni offerte dai rinvenimenti archeologici, che dimostrano, di contro, una situazione ben più articolata all'interno del territorio occidentale del centro partenopeo.

Secondo W. Johannowsky e M. Napoli, il limite tra Napoli e Pozzuoli in età romana sarebbe stato fissato lungo la *Via Puteolis-Neapolim* in corrispondenza del valico tra la Solfatara ed il Monte Olibano, assunto che si basa, oltre che sulle testimonianze di Plinio il Vecchio,[7] anche sull'osservazione che proprio in quel punto della strada si interrompe la successione dei sepolcri gentilizi delle famiglie puteolane, che proseguiva senza soluzione di continuità da Via Vecchia Vigna, nel sito di *Puteoli*.[8] E' pur vero che con Ottaviano il versante della Solfatara verso Agnano (gli antichi Colli Leucogei) è sottratto ai Napoletani, ma è assai probabile che l'adiacente Monte Spina, appena più ad est verso Agnano, sia rimasto in possesso di *Neapolis* durante tutta l'età imperiale. Un'altra evidenza imprescindibile, che non sempre è tenuta nel debito conto, ma che suffraga la posizione di Johannowsky, proviene dalla zona di Pianura, quartiere del comune di Napoli poco a nord della Conca di Agnano e ad essa contiguo: nella Vigna Fusco fu rinvenuto un cippo terminale ancora *in situ*, che tra la fine del II ed il III sec. d.C. segnava il confine della proprietà di *Aemilius Sciens*.[9] Le indicazioni epigrafiche del cippo assegnano al fondo relativo una superficie di 7,5 ettari, che costituisce la misura classica della centuriazione romana di *Neapolis*: in questo modo, verrebbe ad essere precisata la situazione della parte limitanea dell'*ager* occidentale di Napoli nel II-III sec. d.C., assicurandoci l'appartenenza ad esso almeno del territorio di Pianura. Ma, per la vicinanza tra Pianura ed Agnano verso sud, a questo punto, diventa legittimo pensare che anche quest'ultima area in età imperiale appartenesse a *Neapolis*, ipotizzando per essa un'analoga divisione territoriale secondo il sistema di centuriazione registrato dal cippo di *Aemilius Sciens*. Dunque, in considerazione di questi dati, sembra possibile accettare senza riserve l'ipotesi che in età romana la Conca di Agnano ricadesse per buona parte nei limiti della città di Napoli, riproponendo la sistemazione territoriale del comune odierno.

Sulla pendice settentrionale del Monte Spina, al III miglio della già detta *Via Puteolis-Neapolim*, in un segmento rifatto tra il 96 ed il 102 d.C.,[10] sorge un ampio complesso termale (*fig. 1*), con ogni probabilità pertinente ad una *statio*, il cui funzionamento veniva assicurato dallo sfruttamento delle sorgenti calde del cratere di Agnano, oltre che dall'allacciamento al vicino *Fontis Augustei aquaeductus*.[11] La struttura, edificata in *opus mixtum* con successivi interventi in opera vittata mista e tradizionalmente datata all'età traiano-adrianea, deve essere collocata, invece, tra le esperienze architettoniche della metà o della seconda metà del II sec. d.C., come si desume sia dalle tecniche murarie impiegate sia dall'impianto planimetrico. La disposizione degli ambienti interni, in particolare, tradisce un'organizzazione tipica delle terme di età medio-imperiale, come, per esempio, quelle del vicino *vicus* di Via Terracina, anch'esso nell'*ager* occidentale di Napoli,[12] oppure le Terme del Foro di Cuma,[13] con la possibilità di usufruire degli impianti mediante un percorso circolare, per quanto ad Agnano l'articolazione degli spazi interni sia condizionata dall'orografia locale e dalla posizione delle sorgenti naturali sfruttate: ad est si colloca il *frigidarium* a pianta rettangolare, con un bacino nell'abside meridionale ed uno sulla parete occidentale; ad ovest sono dislocati gli ambienti caldi (due *laconica*, un *tepidarium* ed un *calidarium* a pianta rettangolare con retrostante *praefurnium*); successivamente, ma, comunque, entro la fine dello stesso II sec. d.C., viene aggiunta ad est del *frigidarium* una serie di ambienti di servizio, di *dietae* e di *apodyteria*. La struttura, inoltre, si completa con un ampio spazio esterno sul lato occidentale, identificato abitualmente come una palestra (per Johannowsky si tratterebbe di uno *xystus*), con portico colonnato lungo il perimetro interno, il cui terrapieno chiude le arcate oblique dell'adiacente viadotto del 'pendino di Agnano'.[14] Il complesso restò in funzione per lungo tempo, subendo anche un intervento di restauro da parte del re vandalo Trasamondo a cavallo tra V e VI sec. d.C., finché l'abbassamento del suolo nel IX-X sec. non ne compromise la statica strutturale: da questo momento, e fino alla metà del XV sec., le terme romane continuarono a sopravvivere esclusivamente come sudatorio.[15]

L'ARREDO STATUARIO

*Statua di Venere tipo Felix (*figg. 2-4)[16]

La grande figura muliebre su basso plinto è completamente nuda, eccetto che per un drappo trattenuto davanti al pube dalla mano destra, che si svolge sul retro limitatamente alla parte inferiore del corpo (*fig. 2*). Questa insiste sulla gamba destra, con l'altra leggermente flessa ed i piedi posti sullo stesso asse; la spalla destra è più bassa dell'altra; il braccio sinistro si stende lungo il corpo fino al gomito per poi piegarsi diagonalmente verso il basso ventre; invece, il braccio destro, su cui si adagia l'altro lembo del panno, è tenuto lontano dal corpo con il gomito quasi a squadro.

La testa (*fig. 3*), inclinata appena verso il basso, ha l'ovale lungo e asimmetrico, la fronte alta, gli zigomi prominenti e le guance compatte; la piccola bocca carnosa è dischiusa e mostra i denti; gli occhi sono aperti e fissi, con le palpebre superiori modellate come cordoncini e la caruncola lacrimale ben disegnata; il naso era grande e breve, come indica la traccia sulla superficie marmorea; il mento è volitivo. I capelli ondulati con scriminatura centrale si gonfiano ai lati, intrecciandosi sulla nuca in un complesso *chignon*, da cui si liberano due morbide ciocche discendenti sulle spalle, una per lato; la pettinatura si completa con un diadema liscio dal bordo ondulato. Infine, un soffice ricciolo poco rilevato precede i lobi delle orecchie.

Il tronco, più ridotto in rapporto alle gambe, è ruotato a sinistra, distinto dal delicato profilo delle spalle e dalle eleganti linee delle braccia affusolate. I piccoli seni, con i capezzoli resi plasticamente, sembrano giustapposti al torace, e quello destro è innaturalmente più alto, dato che dovrebbe, al contrario, seguire l'inclinazione della spalla corrispondente. La fascia addominale è rilevata, ma non particolareggiata, a parte la sfumatura della linea alba. Un lieve gonfiore qualifica il basso ventre, grazie alla contrazione del fianco destro ed alla posizione avanzata del bacino. L'ombelico, infine, è ottenuto con un semplice cerchietto.

Le lunghe gambe massicce e quasi statiche si avvalgono di un trattamento, che concede di rilevare le ginocchia ed il polpaccio destro in tensione. Più attenzione è data alla descrizione dei piedi, dei quali il sinistro poggia al suolo soltanto con la parte anteriore, così da preparare lo sviluppo dell'intero moto della composizione, che, però, per l'allineamento dei piedi sul medesimo asse, non riesce a svolgersi in pieno, penalizzando la scultura.

In tale impianto, come accennato, è inserito un mantello frangiato e drappeggiato intorno ai fianchi della figura (*fig. 4*). La stretta della mano destra crea un pudico viluppo di stoffa dal coloristico movimento di pieghe, che, sostenute nel loro distendersi da un corto puntello, convergono verso la mano stessa. Sul lato sinistro il tessuto è con-

Fig. 2-4. Venere tipo Felix. *Veduta frontale.*

Fig. 5-7. Gruppo frammentario di Venere con spada ed Eros. Veduta frontale, particolare e laterale sinistra.

traddistinto da grinze più morbide e verticalmente parallele fino al plinto, a cui si aggiungono con grazia le guarnizioni, diventando una vera e propria quinta scenica. Qui aderisce un sostegno in forma di delfino dall'aspetto mostruoso, con il corpo tenuto dritto, la testa schiacciata al suolo e la coda compresa tra il mantello ed il suo lembo terminale: l'animale è definito da un lavoro morbido e sfumato, che usa incisioni più marcate solo nella coda e nella testa (specie nella bocca).

La parte posteriore è scolpita con cura, tanto da poter essere stata destinata per una visione a tutto tondo, avallando l'ipotesi proposta prima per la sua collocazione originaria.[17] Le masse morbide del dorso sono contraddistinte dalla resa del solco della spina dorsale, mentre le pieghe del mantello, dal rilievo appena più piatto, concordano con il movimento generale dell'opera. In particolare, nella parte più alta le pieghe sono fitte e formano un vero e proprio bordo arrotolato, mentre, a mano a mano che si procede verso il basso, si fanno ampie e soffici e descrivono una V nel cedere al gesto del braccio sinistro.

E' ripetuto il noto schema della Venere tipo *Felix*,[18] dalla replica del Vaticano,[19] usato anche in funzione iconica e derivato dalla Cnidia.[20] Questa tipologia aggiunge all'impianto prassitelico: 1) il mantello trattenuto con la mano destra davanti al pube, mentre l'altra estremità poggia sul braccio sinistro; 2) la pettinatura, che, sebbene tipologicamente non ancora ricostruita con certezza, prevede due trecce ricadenti sulle spalle o sul petto; 3) un piccolo Eros laterale, talvolta in groppa ad un delfino.[21] Nella versione Agnano si ripetono tutte le peculiarità del tipo, eccetto la figura di Eros.[22] Tale soluzione, però, va considerata come una rivisitazione personale del modello da parte dello scultore, piuttosto che giustificarla in relazione ad una qualche variante codificata dell'*Urbild*. La statua ricorda da vicino un'analoga Afrodite del Louvre,[23] tranne che nella ponderazione, nella pettinatura (quantunque in entrambi i casi siano presenti le due ciocche sulle spalle), oltre che nello stile. Eppure, sono riproposti alcuni dettagli, che aiutano a qualificare meglio l'esemplare napoletano: infatti, identico è il ricciolo a bassorilievo davanti alle orecchie e simile è anche la disposizione del drappo gonfiato dal vento, che ne determina lo svolazzo sul lato destro, ed il suo andamento obliquo sul lato opposto, condizionato dal braccio corrispondente, anche se nella veduta posteriore della replica Louvre esso passa al di sopra dei glutei. Le corrispondenze emerse, perciò, assicurano la statua di Agnano come pertinente allo stesso filone copistico della copia francese. Anzi, proprio la Venere Agnano può gettare nuova luce sull'argomento, considerando che nell'ambito delle repliche di età romana del tipo *Venus Felix*, l'unica strettamente legata alla nostra è la versione Louvre. Pertanto, date anche le differenze con la replica eponima del Vaticano, sia la Venere Agnano sia quella Louvre andrebbero considerate come una stessa variante all'interno del tipo *Felix*.

L'esemplare di Agnano è opera di non elevata qualità, tanto da far parlare di sé come di 'opera mediocre':[24] la dea appare sgraziata ed immobile, mentre i rapporti di equilibrio tra le parti non sono affrontati in modo corretto. L'evidente sproporzione tra gambe e tronco è accentuata, poi, dal modo in cui sono descritti seno ed arti inferiori, insieme al bacino troppo ampio ed alla posizione innaturale dei piedi, che quasi si toccano all'altezza dei calcagni, dando vita ad una costruzione disarmonica. Ma, se tutto ciò è indizio inequivocabile di un'estrazione artigianale dello scultore e di una sua ridotta sensibilità ai valori strutturali, ci stupisce, invece, la cura dimostrata nel rendimento del mantello (a parte il lembo sul braccio sinistro), che contrasta con il resto della realizzazione. Del resto, proprio al mantello è affidato il compito di movimentare la scultura e di creare effetti di colore attraverso la modulazione della luce sulla superficie increspata dalle pieghe. L'ultima nota da segnalare è la presenza del delfino, che, seppur tradizionalmente poco funzionale alla tipologia statuaria riprodotta, va considerata come segno di una ricerca di originalità da parte dello scalpellino, quand'anche potrebbe sottintendere un'incapacità tecnica nel riproporre la soluzione iconografica più tradizionale.

Nonostante la scultura abbia perduto gran parte della sua superficie originaria, lo stato di conservazione permette di proporre un riferimento cronologico al II sec. d.C.[25] Infatti, il largo impiego del trapano, utilizzato anche per staccare il contorno della gamba destra dalla stoffa, le forme solide, il trattamento del nudo ed il gioco chiaroscurale affidato, per contrasto con il nitore del corpo nudo, all'acconciatura ed al drappo, sono fattori che concorrono per una più precisa attribuzione della scultura al secondo quarto del II sec. d.C., non oltre l'età proto-antonina.

*Gruppo frammentario di Venere con spada ed Eros (*figg. 5-7*)*[26]

La statua è acefala e più piccola del vero e rappresenta una giovane donna nuda stante sulla destra, con l'altra gamba flessa e scartata di lato e con i piedi aderenti alla base (*fig. 5*). La spalla

sinistra è più alta, il braccio destro era sollevato con il gomito piegato, così che la mano toccava quasi la spalla corrispondente, ed il braccio sinistro, allontanato dal corpo e poco arretrato, è tenuto a squadro all'altezza del fianco (*fig. 7*).

La testa era volta un poco verso il suo lato sinistro e verso il basso. L'acconciatura, di difficile ricostruzione, prevedeva sicuramente due lunghe ciocche ondulate ricadenti dalle spalle sul petto ed un ciuffo sulla nuca, lavorato in modo rozzo.

Il corpo flessuoso, nonostante una certa rigidità del tronco, è distinto da una smorzata individuazione della muscolatura. Le spalle sono morbide e tornite; i seni proporzionati sono bassi e sodi, con una maggiore precisazione del muscolo pettorale sinistro presso l'inserzione del braccio; il busto è attraversato diagonalmente dalla fettuccia del *balteus*, che, scendendo dalla spalla destra verso il fianco opposto, sostiene il fodero con la spada accomodato sullo stesso fianco; il bicipite sinistro, cinto da un'armilla liscia, è rigonfio e contratto, coerente con lo sforzo del braccio e della mano perduta, che stringeva l'elsa della spada. Gli addominali sono poco sviluppati, eppure non mancano di farsi notare sotto le superfici finemente modulate, grazie anche alla contrazione del fianco destro: in questo modo, pur senza trascurare i particolari salienti, i muscoli sono dettagliati, con la linea alba inclinata come il tronco e con l'individuazione precisa degli obliqui, specie sul lato sinistro; l'ombelico è ottenuto per mezzo di un cerchietto. Dal basso ventre si evidenzia il monte di Venere, che, completato con due nette incisioni all'altezza dell'inguine, scende obliquo e segue la gamba scarica.

Le gambe snelle sono rese come la parte superiore della figura, con attenzione alle ginocchia ed al polpaccio sinistro. Una seppur lieve sproporzione si avverte, invece, nelle dimensioni dei piedi, troppo grandi in rapporto al resto della composizione, pur mostrando una resa minuziosa.

Nella visione posteriore si osserva un'attenuazione della gravitazione del corpo sulla gamba portante ed un ridimensionamento nel modellato, diventato più piatto e corsivo, come si vede nello *Statuenstütz* solo sbozzato, nel gluteo destro ad esso aderente artificiosamente e nelle gambe con i ponticelli ancora non staccati. Non si lascia cadere, però, l'individuazione delle masse conformi alla ponderazione della struttura, di cui esprime tutto il peso con la contrazione laterale dei glutei e del polpaccio destro, oltre che nella resa più naturalistica dei particolari, seppur nei limiti, quali la spina dorsale, la tracolla diagonale della bandoliera ed il muscolo dorsale sinistro.

Sul sostegno a forma di tronco d'albero è gettata una ridotta *Lederpanzer*,[27] ripiegata a caso[28] e dotata di una fila superiore di sei corte *πτέρυγες* tondeggianti con decorazione[29] ed una sottostante di più lunghe *πτέρυγες* dritte e lisce (*fig. 6*).

Invece, lungo il lato sinistro della figura restano le tracce lasciate dalla piccola immagine perduta a completamento del gruppo. Il bambino, di cui restano i piedi sul plinto, va ricostruito di profilo, rivolto quasi verso il personaggio femminile, con le braccia alzate a reggere un oggetto voluminoso, a cui pertiene la lacuna sull'anca, mentre il corpo del piccolo vi aderiva al polpaccio.

La scultura propone la dea Afrodite nel tipo 'con la spada',[30] noto da un numero modesto di repliche, tra le quali si distingue l'esemplare di Parigi.[31] Questo, che ha ricordato prodotti di V sec. a.C. di influenza policletea a Macchioro e la Cnidia prassitelica a J. Flemberg, in realtà, riprende lo schema dell'Afrodite tipo Louvre-Napoli[32] e farebbe capo ad un *Urbild* bronzeo della metà del IV sec. a.C., raffigurante la divinità nuda nell'atto di armarsi, qualificata dalla ponderazione sulla gamba sinistra, dal fodero pendente al fianco sinistro con la spada riposta, la mano sinistra che ne trattiene l'elsa, il braccio destro sollevato ad accomodare il balteo sulla spalla relativa ed il corpo leggermente ruotato, così come la testa, verso la gamba portante. Al di là di eventuali variazioni circa la ponderazione o l'inserzione di elementi originali, come si vedrà più oltre, il frammento di Agnano prolunga, prima di tutto, l'elenco delle repliche note del tipo,[33] di cui può considerarsi una versione di buona qualità. Come già notava Macchioro, esso mostra molte affinità proprio con la citata replica del Louvre, lasciando da parte le diversità compositive (ponderazione e posizione della corazza invertita; forme del corpo più pesanti e massicce;[34] pettinatura con ciocche ricadenti sul petto) e formali, soprattutto nel disegno complessivo e nella presenza di Eros, che, come si ricostruisce anche nel nostro frammento, è stante a sorreggere l'elmo per la madre divina. Eppure, il gruppo di Agnano, nella positiva comparazione con l'esemplare francese, esprime una maggiore tensione emotiva. E' sicuramente un prodotto che attesta la discreta preparazione tecnica e la sensibilità artistica di uno scultore capace di adottare soluzioni assai originali, quali la posizione enfatica della lorica, la rotazione quasi ad angolo retto di Eros e la resa meno leggiadra, potremmo dire più 'virile', ma pur sempre sensuale, di Afrodite. In essa, infine, i rapporti di equilibrio tra le parti sono risolti correttamente, nonostante il fianco destro appaia troppo gonfio ed i piedi siano quasi interamente fissati al suolo.

Fig. 8-9. Gruppo frammentario di Ganimede con Eros. Veduta frontale.

A dispetto della riduzione della superficie marmorea, i caratteri della statua la inquadrano nell'orizzonte del II sec. d.C.,[35] con le cui esperienze artistiche risultano congruenti le forme vibranti del corpo, il plasticismo armonioso e, nel contempo, energico e mai privo di femminilità, ed il movimento libero nella ponderazione e nel gesto del braccio destro. Inoltre, accorto è l'utilizzo del trapano a creare animati effetti chiaroscurali ed a staccare in modo netto le linee di contorno, come quella della porzione di gamba aderente al puntello, o a rendere le ciocche delle trecce. Il trattamento del nudo, poi, contrasta con la notazione di colore affidata alla fettuccia del balteo, all'armilla, ai capelli sul petto ed allo *Statuenstütz*, ma il cui effetto era senza dubbio amplificato dalla presenza di Eros. Si ricordi, inoltre, che proprio sulla scorta di tale puntello F. Muthmann ha riferito l'esemplare Agnano all'età antonina. E, in effetti, tutti i fattori fin qui rilevati consentono un'attribuzione del gruppo scultoreo al secondo quarto del II sec. d.C.

Gruppo frammentario di Ganimede con Eros (figg. 8-9)[36]

La statua, che rappresenta un giovane nudo, ad eccezione della clamide sulla spalla sinistra, insiste su un plinto stondato posteriormente (*fig. 8*). La figura gravita sulla gamba destra, su cui è incrociata l'altra in corrispondenza del ginocchio, e poggia completamente a terra il piede destro, laddove l'altro ha la pianta posata su una zeppa. Lo schema chiastico adottato e la posizione centrale

delle gambe consentono di disegnare due archi ininterrotti, l'uno dalla testa al piede sinistro e l'altro al piede destro, che si intersecano appena sotto lo sterno. Un tronco d'albero, parzialmente nascosto da un piccolo Eros frammentario, aderisce alla gamba sinistra. Il piano della spalla sinistra è più alto, il braccio corrispondente è tenuto lontano dal corpo e verosimilmente piegato in avanti, quello destro, pure distante dal fianco, è portato lateralmente ed è sorretto da un puntello collocato tra il gomito e l'anca. La testa era tenuta dritta frontalmente, come si ricostruisce dalla contrazione dei nervi e dei muscoli del collo. Il busto è leggermente ruotato a sinistra. Il ritmo gravitazionale obliquo della figura si ripercuote sul busto e determina un forte incurvamento della linea alba, un'accentuata, seppur coerente, asimmetria dei muscoli pettorali e la contrazione del fianco destro, cui si contrappone l'apertura del fianco opposto.

La muscolatura è disegnata con cura, utilizzando un rendimento plastico delicato ed efficace: i pettorali ampi e distesi, con i capezzoli rilevati, sono staccati dalle clavicole e di essi quello sinistro è più stretto e contratto per la posizione del braccio corrispondente e per l'inclinazione delle spalle; le braccia sono vigorose, anche se non particolarmente possenti, mentre più massiccio si presenta il dorsale destro. Lungo la superficie anteriore del bicipite sinistro e sopra la linea di frattura dell'avambraccio relativo si vedono i resti di due puntelli pertinenti ad un oggetto allungato, trattenuto forse nella mano perduta e con la parte inferiore poggiata al tronco d'albero.

La fascia addominale è sviluppata e ripartita internamente, con la linea alba marcata, che prolunga il setto dei muscoli pettorali, e con gli obliqui aggettanti; viceversa, la linea inguinale è più morbida, anche se non manca di energia e di tensione. Il basso ventre è rigonfio a causa della posizione della figura ed è definito da un ombelico posto sorprendentemente in alto ed ottenuto con un profondo incavo circolare. Difficile è ricostruire la peluria pubica per la forte abrasione qui determinatasi, anche se si può ipotizzare che essa fosse rada o addirittura assente per la giovane età del soggetto rappresentato.

I muscoli delle gambe, dal medesimo rendimento della parte superiore del corpo, esprimono una maggiore pressione dovuta alla posizione incrociata. Esse sono affusolate e snelle, come si vede nei quadricipiti, nelle ginocchia e nei polpacci, nonostante la perdita di superficie. Appena sotto l'anca sinistra, poi, resta la traccia di un altro puntello relativo al braccio destro, che si allungava fino a questo punto del corpo. Un certo squilibrio si avverte solo nella rappresentazione dei piedi, individuati analiticamente, ma troppo grandi nel confronto con il resto della figura.

Sulla spalla sinistra è drappeggiata una clamide come un grosso sbuffo, che scende posteriormente fino al sostegno, con pieghe fitte e morbide sul deltoide e più diluite sul fianco sinistro. Da notare, inoltre, è il dettaglio della piega sovrapposta sulla spalla.

Il puntello in forma di tronco (*fig. 9*) è reso in modo naturalistico, con la corteccia staccata dal libro,[37] alla cui estremità sinistra si colloca un erote stante raffigurato di tre quarti, che in origine superava di poco il tronco stesso: la figurina, dalle forme paffute proprie di un bambino, tiene il braccio destro dietro la coscia sinistra del personaggio principale, mentre l'altro era plausibilmente libero verso l'esterno. Le ali sono ampie e dense, con l'individuazione particolareggiata delle piume, rese con un morbido plasticismo e completate con incisioni.

Il retro convalida la gravitazione del giovane sulla gamba destra con la forte contrazione laterale dei glutei sodi, dei quali quello destro appare più breve e contratto. I muscoli della schiena sono descritti con precisione, nonostante il rilievo un po' schiacciato, mentre corsiva è la descrizione della clamide e del sostegno.

In questa scultura si è da tempo riconosciuta una rappresentazione di Ganimede, soggetto che ha avuto molta fortuna nell'antichità, a giudicare dal cospicuo numero di manufatti che lo hanno riprodotto.[38] L'iconografia adottata in questo caso prevede il giovinetto nudo con la clamide, in una posa mollemente indolente, con le gambe incrociate, il berretto frigio ed il caratteristico *pedum* tenuto nella mano sinistra e poggiato al braccio relativo, elementi distintivi della sua duplice veste di principe troiano e di pastore; generalmente, è prevista la presenza di un'aquila o, talvolta, di un cigno, chiare allusioni all'amore di Zeus o come sue personificazioni.[39] Il Ganimede da Agnano, salvo alcuni particolari che appaiono singolari nella tradizione artistica di età romana, ripropone tutti i tratti salienti di questo schema e, sebbene sia impossibile accertare la presenza del copricapo, notevoli punti di contatto si ritrovano con il Ganimede con l'aquila del Vaticano,[40] come già segnalato da Macchioro:[41] ma, se il modello è riproposto fedelmente, è pur vero che si registrano soluzioni che sono da considerarsi come rivisitazioni squisitamente originali, imputabili soltanto allo scultore. Nello specifico, vanno notati sia la sostituzione dell'aquila tradizionale con Eros sia il

Fig. 10-11. Gruppo frammentario di Hermes e Dioniso bambino. Veduta principale.

drappeggio del mantello del tutto inconsueto nella tipologia considerata. Se, però, l'inserzione del nuovo personaggio non stravolge il significato della composizione, dal momento che resta sostanzialmente inalterata l'idea del destino del giovane, pur senza la presenza diretta di Zeus, diverso è il discorso per la clamide: nell'esemplare Vaticano, così come anche in altre repliche, questa è affibbiata sulla spalla destra e, dopo essere stata avvolta intorno al braccio sinistro, scende fino a toccare lo *Statuenstütz* laterale, in modo da aumentare la superficie d'appoggio a tutta la figura; viceversa, la clamide, che dalla spalla sinistra scende dritta e rasente al fianco relativo, nell'esemplare di Agnano non assolve più a questa importante funzione tecnica. In realtà, nel gruppo in esame la ponderazione è tale da non necessitare di un puntello alto, visto che il massiccio ceppo soddisfa appieno al suo compito. Pertanto, per la clamide, svincolato il braccio corrispondente, si sceglie un espediente non tradizionale, in cui è maggiormente sfruttato lo spazio esterno per rendere più netto il contorno della scultura, ora protesa nel vuoto più liberamente.

Per questo lavoro, dall'elegante linguaggio formale e dagli insoliti aspetti originali, è stato proposto il II sec. d.C.,[42] come dimostrano il tipo di trattamento, le forme morbide ed arrotondate del corpo, i giochi di luci ed ombre sapientemente modulati. Non ultimo è il diffuso uso del trapano, insieme alla lavorazione dello *Statuenstütz* con la corteccia rilevata, che consentono di circoscriverne la cronologia più specificamente all'età adrianeo-protoantonina.

*Gruppo frammentario di Hermes con Dioniso bambino (*figg. 10-11*)*[43]

Su un basso plinto si imposta una figura virile nuda con una pesante clamide sistemata intorno al collo, le braccia lontane dal corpo, la spalla destra più in alto dell'altra, il peso gravitante sulla gamba destra, mentre la sinistra, a cui aderiva un ampio sostegno perduto, è scartata ed avanzata (*fig. 10*). La scultura si completava con un bambino seduto sul braccio sinistro, che si reggeva con la mano destra, ancora visibile, alla clamide (*fig. 11*). La testa era rivolta verso il suo lato sinistro e lievemente abbassata, come indicano la nuca e i muscoli alla base del collo. La parte superiore del busto è coperta dal mantello appuntato sulla spalla destra da una *fibula* circolare lavorata di trapano e con la parte terminale avvolta intorno al braccio sinistro (*fig. 11*). La fibbia crea sul petto tre ampie e soffici pieghe, ciascuna con il margine ripiegato su se stesso, che formano sulla spalla sinistra un profilo gradinato. Anche la parte di tessuto sul braccio presenta grosse pieghe ricurve tra loro parallele. Infine, il deltoide sinistro è coperto in maniera inattesa da una sorta di spallina

di lorica sotto la clamide, probabilmente una cattiva comprensione del modello di riferimento. La visione delle braccia è parziale: dell'arto destro sono evidenti il bicipite vigoroso ed il trapezio coperto dall'estremità superiore di un caduceo; del braccio sinistro si conservano il bicipite, il tricipite e l'attacco dell'avambraccio con il gomito. I pettorali sono rilevati solo nella parte esterna, perchè per lo più celati sotto la stoffa.

Sebbene la superficie marmorea sia compromessa, i muscoli addominali si riconoscono attraverso un modellato sfumato, che li evidenzia come gonfi e robusti, dalla linea alba poco pronunciata e dalle digitazioni intercostali, senza ricorrere ad una più minuta partizione interna. Il basso ventre rigonfio è definito dall'ombelico ottenuto con un profondo scavo di trapano. Pronunciate sono le anche, grazie alla contrazione del fianco destro ed all'articolazione del solco inguinale, che creano un movimentato effetto pittorico. Non si ricostruisce il disegno della peluria pubica e dei genitali, a causa del danneggiamento della statuetta, e si può solo segnalare che il pube doveva essere inclinato verso il lato sinistro.

Le cosce sono solide ed armoniose, quantunque un po' sproporzionate nel rapporto con il resto della composizione, con la muscolatura dal plasticismo delicato, più descrittivo nell'individuazione delle ginocchia (innanzitutto nella gamba destra), così da rendere appieno la tensione interna della figura. Inoltre, un breve e superficiale solco di trapano le stacca sotto i genitali. Più grossolana è, invece, la delineazione del piede destro aderente per intero alla base.

Sul retro la resa è scrupolosa, con la muscolatura organizzata intorno alla spina dorsale, che si svolge secondo il movimento di tutto il corpo, e con i sodi glutei rotondi, dei quali quello della gamba portante è più allungato e teso. Inoltre, poderosi emergono i quadricipiti, per poi assottigliarsi in corrispondenza dell'attacco dei polpacci.

Per la lettura delle tracce dei puntelli lungo il contorno della scultura, un aiuto considerevole è fornito da una fotografia anteriore al 1912,[44] che ci assicura che l'impronta sull'anca destra attiene al sostegno del braccio corrispondente, mentre quella sulla coscia sinistra era relativa ad uno *Statuenstütz* a forma di albero, arricchito con un ariete rappresentato frontalmente, con la testa alzata e rivolta a destra e con un corto puntello tra le zampe anteriori. Su tale sostegno poggiava l'avambraccio sinistro della figura virile ed 'un bambino con un grosso grappolo d'uva stretto al petto con la mano sinistra'.[45] Apparentemente senza giustificazione, al contrario, resta la traccia di puntello a sezione quadrangolare sulla coscia destra, sotto il sostegno dell'anca, dal momento che nella foto menzionata compare effettivamente solo il puntello corrispondente alla traccia più alta sul lato destro della figura, a sostegno del braccio sopra il polso. Ipotizzando la presenza di un secondo sostegno più in basso, però, questo andrebbe a coincidere con la punta delle dita della mano destra. Pertanto, il secondo puntello può essere ricostruito come di forma e dimensioni uguali al sostegno superiore e funzionale alla mano destra e/o, più probabilmente, all'estremità inferiore del caduceo, già perduto al momento del ritrovamento della scultura.

Il frammento si qualifica come parte di un gruppo statuario raffigurante Hermes stante, con caduceo poggiato al braccio destro e Dioniso bambino con grappolo d'uva seduto sull'altro arto; alla gamba sinistra di Hermes aderisce, poi, il *Baumstamm* con l'ariete, identificativo del dio nella tradizionale accezione di *κριοφόρος*. Inizialmente considerata come 'una derivazione, se non una replica' di un'opera di Kephisodotos, padre di Prassitele, o di un originale di V sec. a.C. vicino all'Hermes Boboli,[46] in anni più recenti è stato giustamente accettato un riferimento del gruppo ad un modello di scuola policletea,[47] per quanto l'inserzione dell'ariete nel nostro esemplare si segnali più come novità di ambiente romano che non come elemento dell'*Urbild*.[48] E' una realizzazione autonoma all'interno del panorama dell'arte plastica partenopea, al di là di certe incomprensioni iconografiche e di certi squilibri nelle proporzioni (specie nel rapporto tra torso e gambe): se, da un lato, la resa formale, talvolta frettolosa, lascia sorpresi per alcune decisioni piuttosto audaci, dall'altro, però, esse stesse costituiscono forse la parte più fresca e vitale di tutta la composizione. Il frammento, come si è già avuto modo di sottolineare, mostra un rendimento morbido, in cui non c'è spazio per la descrizione minuziosa della muscolatura, pur trasmettendo un senso di pienezza e di forza, che si coglie facilmente. Così, i passaggi di piano sono superati dolcemente e, con questo languido scolpito, la luce scorre sulle superfici senza esserne trattenuta. La modulazione delicata delle masse contrasta con il drappeggio della clamide e con lo *Statuenstütz* dal forte decorativismo barocco, determinando una miscela di effetti chiaroscurali, che infondono movimento all'intera opera. Lo schema policleteo è reinterpretato alla luce di un nuovo disegno compositivo, che raggela l'avanzamento della gamba sinistra di Hermes e fa convergere tutti gli

assi visivi verso la parte sinistra del gruppo, al fine di focalizzare quasi completamente l'attenzione sulla figurina di Dioniso: ne deriva, così, un moto interno assai marcato, per quanto semplificato, che si diffonde per tutta la scultura e la rende intensa. Inoltre, la teofania di Hermes è quasi compassata, si potrebbe dire ieratica, aspetto questo che indiscutibilmente veniva accresciuto dalla presenza di Dioniso, che, con il gesto di aggrapparsi al mantello, era ritratto in tutto il dinamismo della fanciullezza. Erudita, infine, appare l'inserzione dell'ariete, che offre la possibilità di nascondere e, allo stesso tempo, di bilanciare un sostegno troppo ampio e dilatato. Dunque, se pur vi è un qualche difetto dal punto di vista tecnico, sul piano artistico la scultura si riscatta per freschezza ed immediatezza.

A proposito della cronologia, per questo lavoro si può accettare senza riserve l'attribuzione alla metà del II sec. d.C.,[49] che sembrerebbe giustificata non solo dal tipo di rendimento, quanto anche dalla qualità formale del panneggio.

LA 'BOTTEGA DI AGNANO'

Lo studio analitico dei marmi delle Terme di Agnano evidenzia una serie di dati, principalmente la conoscenza dell'allestimento originario, che sembrano parlare in favore di una loro derivazione da un unico artista o, in ogni caso, da un medesimo ambito formale. Nel tentativo, quindi, di identificare officine marmorarie operanti nel territorio di *Neapolis* in età romana, pur senza riuscire ad ottenere una sicura evidenza, per quanto ci siano possibilità di collocarle *in loco*,[50] le statue di Agnano costituiscono evidentemente un valido e funzionale punto di partenza.

Queste, databili entro la metà del II sec. d.C. e realizzate con lo stesso tipo di marmo bianco a grana grossa, compongono un insieme uniforme dal punto di vista estetico e condividono identiche peculiarità tecnico-stilistiche, che vi fanno riconoscere, se non altro, una stessa esperienza artistica, oltre che un unico momento di realizzazione e, dunque, di disposizione all'interno della terme. E' accettabile, pertanto, l'eventualità che le sculture in oggetto, per giunta concordanti nelle dimensioni, eccetto la Venere tipo *Felix*, costituissero un programma decorativo coerente, non tanto, o non solo, per la preferenza accordata ad originali derivati dalla tradizione attica di IV sec. a.C., ma, principalmente, perchè la loro iconografia sottintende una consapevole selezione di tipi statuari assai adatti ad edifici termali in generale e ad un *frigidarium* più in particolare, se pur non si vuole chiamare in causa potenziali programmi ideologici. Ma, si tratta altresì di prodotti che testimoniano perizia tecnica, sensibilità ai valori plastici e, seppur in misura ridotta, a quelli volumetrici, nella cui realizzazione prevale il trattamento morbido delle superfici e la cura del particolare, tutte connotazioni che possono essere assunte come segni di una distinta pratica di bottega.

Ciò che colpisce in maggior misura è la resa dei piedi, ogni volta sproporzionati rispetto al modulo generale delle figure e, per di più, caratterizzati dalla pianta interamente fissata al suolo (parzialmente nel Ganimede), laddove la ponderazione avrebbe preferito una diversa e più regolare soluzione compositiva, capace di infondere intensità di movimento. Questo particolare ritorna anche nella Venere *Felix*, sebbene scultura di grande formato, che, per giunta, sembra costituire l'unica replica del tipo in cui i piedi non assecondano la posizione leggera e sensuale della dea. Altre particolarità sono costituite dalle pieghe dei panneggi distinte con nette e profonde scalpellature, definite da un'incisione terminale decisa e quasi meccanica, e dall'orlo dei mantelli, realizzato come ripiegato su se stesso con il contorno zigzagato, che ritorna con uguale modalità sia nel bordo delle clamidi di Hermes e di Ganimede che nella porzione di drappo sotto il braccio destro della *Felix*, tanto che potremmo parlare concretamente di elementi 'firma'. I pezzi in oggetto rientrano anche in una generica tradizione classicistica, in cui, però, come si è avuto modo di rilevare, i modelli sono rinnovati nel loro schema consueto, mediante inserzioni di ingredienti del tutto nuovi ed inaspettati, a volte finanche barocchi (vedi la compresenza della zeppa a lorica e di Eros ai lati dell'Afrodite con spada o la sostituzione dell'aquila con Eros ai piedi di Ganimede), ma senza che questo risulti alterato nelle sue componenti fondamentali. E, così, siamo partecipi della disinvoltura con cui è invertita la ponderazione oppure è realizzato il disegno dei panneggi, o, ancora, all'inserzione di un certo elemento, come anche alla soppressione di un altro.

Tutte queste specificità si osservano anche in una statua panneggiata con nebride e con un gallo nella mano destra da Napoli, in cui è riconoscibile il ritratto di una donna legata ad ambiente dionisiaco, e che sia consentito citare brevemente in questa sede a causa di affinità di realizzazione con le sculture di Agnano. La statua (*fig. 12*),[51] rinvenuta nel 1879 nei pressi della chiesa di San Giorgio Maggiore a Napoli, cioè all'interno della città romana, e riferibile con ogni probabilità ad

Fig. 12. Figura muliebre panneggiata con gallo (in Cristilli 2006).

uno spazio pubblico nella zona di Via Duomo, ripropone nel dettaglio non solo gli aspetti tecnici fin qui evidenziati, quali il tipo di esecuzione delle pieghe del panneggio, l'orlo ripiegato, la difficoltà nel risolvere i rapporti tra le parti, la cura attenta al particolare (la mano, i piedi, il gallo), ma mostra anche un'originalità dello schema iconografico adottato e la stessa datazione al II sec. d.C. In effetti, quest'ultima figura potrebbe ragionevolmente essere ascritta alla produzione della stessa bottega che crea i marmi di Agnano, che, a questo punto, sarebbe stata in grado di realizzare anche eclettiche sculture iconiche accanto ad un più classico repertorio di *Idealplastik*. Verrebbe, allora, da chiedersi se i marmi di Agnano e, a questo punto, la figura muliebre con gallo di Napoli non documentino la presenza proprio a *Neapolis* di un'officina attiva almeno intorno alla metà del II sec. d.C., purché si ammetta in questo periodo della storia della città la possibilità reale di collocare un *atelier* marmorario sul suo territorio. Il panorama artistico partenopeo si è di recente arricchito di una serie di evidenze, in parte assolutamente nuove ed in parte non riconosciute prima, che, di fatto, consentono di rintracciare una linea di sviluppo della plastica marmorea di *Neapolis* dalla prima età imperiale fino alla metà del III sec. d.C.[52] Nel corso del II sec. d.C., almeno fino all'età antonina, per rimanere nell'ambito cronologico delle statue oggetto di questo studio, Napoli è un centro in qualche modo attivo e dinamico,[53] in cui la posizione sociale più rilevante è rivestita dai ceti alti, che hanno mantenuto le loro prerogative nonostante le incertezze dei tempi e la forte sperequazione economica, e a riguardo la produzione plastica è assai illuminante: la classe dirigente napoletana, comprendente un numero sempre minore di elementi locali, ed i gruppi che ruotano intorno ad essa si mostrano ancora sensibili al bello artistico, adeguandolo, però, ai propri mezzi, con la conseguenza di alimentare una produzione d'arte diversificata, che realizza opere qualitativamente varie, come risposta all'eterogeneità delle richieste. Il numero degli esemplari provenienti da edifici urbani diventa in questo periodo molto più rilevante rispetto ai decenni precedenti, senza più restare legati esclusivamente a contesti extraurbani o di alta rappresentanza: sono nell'insieme prodotti discreti, non privi talvolta di incertezze tecniche, che, se da un lato lasciano intendere la presenza di una varia committenza, dall'altro mostrano la ricchezza degli stimoli e degli apporti culturali che ne stanno alla base. Ma, da questa produzione emerge chiaro anche il fatto che le officine sono diventate più consapevoli delle proprie capacità e sono in possesso di un gusto estetico più autonomo rispetto al momento della prima romanizzazione, che riescono a gestire in maniera flessibile secondo le richieste. Questo potrebbe far pensare ad una produzione grossolana e, quindi, scadente. Ma, gli scultori che operano a Napoli non sono estranei alle esperienze delle botteghe più prestigiose del tempo, dal momento che appare chiaro che essi muovono da identiche considerazioni e condividono lo stesso *milieu* culturale e tecnico-artistico: si tratta solo di un diverso grado qualitativo nella realizzazione del prodotto, che non cede in competenza e qualità nel confronto con i prodotti della committenza pubblica

o solo più agiata. L'eventualità che Napoli si possa servire in quest'epoca di sculture prodotte dalla vicina Pozzuoli va esclusa o, comunque, nettamente ridimensionata: infatti, se è vero che sussistono evidenze che in determinati momenti parlano un linguaggio formale maggiormente legato ad ambienti urbani,[54] che in qualche modo potrebbero essere messi in relazione con le esperienze figurative puteolane, il resto del corpus scultoreo partenopeo, invece, si differenzia per stile e per tecnica, non tanto nel senso di una qualità più scadente dei pezzi, come si è detto, bensì per una loro diversa interpretazione formale e per un distinto gusto estetico, mostrandosi fisicamente autonomo nell'aspetto di certa produzione scultorea.

Dunque, possiamo comprovare che in età medio-imperiale *Neapolis*, seppur priva di un ruolo politico-economico, oltre che artistico, di rilievo, come la colonia di *Puteoli*, è, comunque, una città con un mercato interno che può assorbire una produzione plastica diversificata. Proprio per questo è plausibile collocarvi attive officine statuarie, tra le quali trovava posto anche quella delle sculture di Agnano, una bottega che non parla il linguaggio formale della capitale, né tantomeno ripete meccanicamente modi urbani, pur dimostrando abilità tecniche, consapevolezza dei prototipi di riferimento e robusta formazione artistica: i suoi scultori (o il suo scultore?) sono educati ad una produzione, che li vede sempre protagonisti attraverso la costante partecipazione al prodotto stesso, come dimostra la libertà con cui rinnovano la tradizione.

NOTE

1 Sembra ancora aperta, invece, la questione della provenienza dallo stesso edificio delle cinque statue muliebri in marmo, note come 'Muse di Agnano', oggi conservate presso il Liebieghaus di Francoforte (Cristilli 2008), mentre delle due teste, una femminile e l'altra di satiro, non si hanno più tracce.

2 Desidero esprimere tutta la mia gratitudine al dott. C. Marai, Direttore delle Terme di Agnano, per la disponibilità, la sollecitudine e la cortesia dimostratemi nel corso di questo mio studio.

3 In effetti, la sua pertinenza all'arredo della sala per il bagno freddo trova facili confronti in strutture termali di tutto l'Impero, specie nel corso del II sec. d.C., quali, per esempio, le Terme della Myrtusa a Cirene (Stucchi 1975, 211-214 e 283-285; Manderscheid 1981, 100-103, tavv. 34-37). Per la presenza di Venere nelle terme romane, Manderscheid 1981, 32-33.

4 Macchioro 1912, 270.

5 Si tratta del 1912, l'anno dopo che il medico di origine ungherese aveva inaugurato il moderno complesso termale di Agnano.

6 Macchioro 1912, 225.

7 Plinio, *NH* 18.114; 30.12; 35.1.

8 Johannowsky, 1952, 93; Napoli 1959, 119; Johannowsky 1985, 333 e 336-337. Sulla necropoli puteolana di Via Vecchia Vigna, Gialanella 2005, 82 e 91-94 (con bibliografia).

9 Miranda 1995, 17-19, n° 88. La *gens Aemilia* è ben attestata in tutta l'area del quartiere di Pianura.

10 Johannowsky 1952, 137-138; 1985, 336.

11 Sul complesso archeologico, Macchioro 1912; Johannowsky 1952, 98-103; Kirsten 1975, 196-198, fig. 10; Johannowsky 1985, 337; Laforgia 1985, 344-347; Amalfitano *et al.* 1990, 60-67; Arthur 2002, 85 e 134. Sull'*Aqua Augusta*, si vedano, Catalano 2003; Cristilli 2004-2005, 175 (con bibliografia).

12 Laforgia 1981; 1985, 340-343; Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 46-55; Arthur 2002, 9 e 85.

13 Sul complesso e sulla sua cronologia, Di Luca 2003, 101-106, N.S. 15, tav. II, n° 15.

14 Johannowsky 1952, 103; 1985, 337; Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 63.

15 Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 64.

16 Napoli, Stabilimento Termale di Agnano (Sala Bar); marmo bianco macrocristallino; h 170cm. Mancano il naso; parte della ciocca di capelli sulla spalla sinistra; la metà inferiore dell'avambraccio sinistro con la mano; le estremità delle due dita finali del piede destro; la pinna dorsale del delfino (*post* 1912). La superficie è abrasa in più punti e quella del puntello presenta tre fratture; la testa è stata riagganciata con un'integrazione in stucco alla base del collo; sul ventre alcuni intacchi (moderni). Parte del plinto è malamente reintegrato in cemento. Infine, si registrano diffuse concrezioni calcaree. Macchioro 1912, 235, 266 e 268-270; Riemann 1942, 123, tipo II, B6; Manderscheid 1981, 81, n° 117, tav. 22; Laforgia 1985, 344; Amalfitano *et al.* 1990, 65; Schmidt 1997, 203, n° 98.

17 Contraria è l'opinione del Macchioro (1912, 269), che la considera 'appena abbozzata'.

18 Sul tipo e sulla lista delle repliche, Delivorrias 1984, 78-79, nn^{i} 696-706 (con bibliografia); Schmidt 1997, 203, nn^{i} 96-101 (solo lista di repliche).

19 Roma, Musei Vaticani, Belvedere, inv. 936; marmo bianco; h 214cm; età antonina; da Roma (S. Croce in Gerusalemme). Delivorrias 1984, 79, n° 696 (con bibliografia precedente); Hallet 2005, 199 e 332, B 334, fig. 122 (con bibliografia).

20 Sul tipo e sulle repliche, Corso 1997; Candilio 2000; Corso 2004; Papini 2006.

21 Diversamente Amelung 1908, 112-115, n° 268; Michon 1913, 167.

22 Analogo, solo per fare un esempio, è l'esemplare oggi a Okayama (Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum, inv. s.n.; marmo bianco; h 69,5 cm; metà II sec. d.C.), che condivide con la statua di Agnano anche la coda compresa tra mantello e lembo sul braccio sinistro. Simon 1982, 252-253, n° 171 (con bibliografia).

23 Parigi, Louvre, inv. MA 280; marmo bianco; già coll. Borghese. Delivorrias 1984, 79, n° 698.

24 Macchioro 1912, 270.

25 Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 63.

26 Napoli, Stabilimento Termale di Agnano (Sala Presidenza); marmo bianco macrocristallino; h 113 cm (errata è la dimensione di 150 cm riportata in Macchioro e Manderscheid); h plinto (senza integrazione) 3 cm. Mancano la testa, spezzata sopra la base del collo; il braccio destro da metà del deltoide; la parte terminale dell'avambraccio sinistro con la mano relativa (quest'ultima,

rinvenuta al momento dello scavo e riagganciata con un perno metallico, è andata perduta in tempi relativamente recenti: Macchioro 1912, 270); la parte frontale dei seni; alcuni segmenti della fettuccia del balteo; il pube; la parte anteriore della daga; la figura di Eros fino al collo dei piedi. Lungo la gamba sinistra sono visibili tracce di due attacchi di zeppe. Gran parte della superficie originaria del marmo è perduta; molto consunti risultano i piedi e tutta la parte frontale del plinto. Scalfitture sparse si sono determinate in fase di scavo; si registrano diffuse macchie di umidità e concrezioni calcaree. Sono visibili un foro circolare moderno nella frattura dell'avambraccio sinistro ed alcune integrazioni moderne in cemento sotto il plinto. Il sostegno è stato riagganciato (*ante* 1898). Reinach 1897, 152, n° 4; Macchioro 1912, 266 e 270-276, fig. 11; Calza 1919, 176; Muthmann 1951, 63 e 223; Manderscheid 1981, 81, n° 118, tav. 22; Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 65; Flemberg 1991, 94-95, figg. 43-44.

27 Sull'argomento, Muthmann 1951, 58-65.

28 Un puntello analogo si ritrova, per esempio, nell'Ares del Museo Gregoriano Profano (inv. 9981). Vorster 1993, 114-117, n° 49, tavv. 227-232 (bibliografia completa). Sul carattere militare dei puntelli in forma di corazza, Hallet 2005, 107-108 (con bibliografia).

29 La decorazione non è riconoscibile, essendo la superficie del marmo troppo consunta.

30 Sul tipo e sulle repliche, Lippold 1950, 291, nota 7; Lullies 1954, 74-75 e 85; Delivorrias 1984, 57, nn[i] 456-461; Flemberg 1991.

31 Parigi, Louvre, inv. MA 370; marmo bianco; h 178 cm; età adrianea; coll. Borghese (già a Villa Giulia). Delivorrias 1984, 57, n° 456.

32 Sul tipo e sulle repliche Brinke 1996 (con bibliografia).

33 Secondo Macchioro (1912, 274) 'Essa entra quindi con onore nella serie, scarsissima, di queste Afroditi ornantisi delle armi di Marte'.

34 Macchioro 1912, 273-274. L'autore considera il pezzo napoletano 'superiore a questa [*scil*. replica del Louvre], però, per quanto mutila: più robusta, più quadrata, più sciolta dall'eterno modello prassitelico, e perciò più artisticamente sentita.'

35 La stessa data è proposta in Manderscheid 1981, 81 (età traiano-adrianea); Amalfitano *et al*., 1990, 63 (II sec. d.C.); Flemberg 1991, 94 (età traiano-adrianea).

36 Napoli, Stabilimento Termale di Agnano (Sala Presidenza); marmo bianco macrocristallino; h 110 cm. Mancano la testa da metà del collo; l'avambraccio destro dal gomito; l'avambraccio sinistro da sotto l'incavo del gomito; lo spigolo della clamide sul pettorale sinistro; i genitali; le parti esterne del piede destro e la punta di un dito del piede sinistro; invece, dell'erote mancano la parte superiore del torso e dell'ala sinistra, il braccio sinistro da metà del deltoide, la gamba destra dall'inguine al carpo del piede. Sono visibili le impronte di tre puntelli sul fianco sinistro e sul braccio relativo. La superficie del marmo è per lo più perduta e sono visibili diffuse macchie di umidità e concrezioni calcaree, insieme a macchie rossastre di ossidazione sulla parte anteriore destra del busto. Alcune scalfitture sparse si sono determinate in fase di scavo. L'asse centrale del torso presenta incisioni parallele (moderne) per tutta la sua lunghezza dal giugulo all'ombelico. Il plinto è riagganciato posteriormente con cemento, così come il braccio sinistro, spezzato all'altezza dell'attacco del deltoide. Macchioro 1912, 266 e 276-280, fig. 13; Lippold 1923, 147, nota 78; Manderscheid 1981, 81, n° 119, tav. 22; Laforgia 1985, 344; Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 67.

37 A proposito di questa tipologia di *Statuenstütz*, Muthmann 1951, 37-46.

38 Lippold 1923, 147, nota 78; ma, anche Williams 1999, 56-59; Colpo 2005, 67-93; Newby 2005, 132-134; Zanoni 2005, 377-380.

39 Sul tipo e sulle repliche, Kempter 1980; Krauskopf 1980; Sichtermann 1988.

40 Roma, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. 1376; marmo bianco; età adrianea; da Roma. Sichtermann 1998, 160-161, n° 124.

41 Macchioro 1912, 278-280.

42 Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 67.

43 Napoli, Hotel 'Terme di Agnano' (Sala Belvedere); marmo bianco macrocristallino; h 65 cm; h plinto 5 cm. Il gruppo, rinvenuto mancante solo della testa del personaggio adulto, oggi si presenta in uno stato assai lacunoso. Errata è la recente considerazione di un suo rimaneggiamento: in realtà, l'aspetto attuale è determinato dai bombardamenti che hanno interessato Agnano durante la II Guerra Mondiale, ivi compreso il moderno complesso termale, informazione di cui la bibliografia più recente non ha tenuto conto. Della figura dell'adulto mancano: la testa; la spalla sinistra; il braccio destro da metà del bicipite al polso; il braccio sinistro con il mantello; un'ampia porzione della superficie del ventre; la gamba destra da metà del quadricipite a metà del carpo del piede; la gamba sinistra da sotto l'attacco inguinale; del bambino mancano: la parte superiore del busto; la gamba destra; il pube. Sono lacunosi, infine, la parte sinistra del plinto e tutto il puntello del gruppo. Scalfitture sono sulla parte anteriore destra della figura adulta, determinatesi in fase di scavo; concrezioni calcaree diffuse. Un foro circolare si trova nella frattura del collo dell'uomo per l'inserzione della testa. La superficie marmorea, pur essendo ricoperta quasi completamente da una patina giallastra di ossidazione, resta intatta in alcuni punti con segni di raspatura. Sono ancora visibili le tracce di un puntello sull'anca destra, di uno più in basso sulla coscia relativa e di un altro più ampio su quella sinistra. Un foro di perno è stato praticato nelle fratture di entrambe le braccia e nell'impronta del puntello dell'anca sinistra; resti di perno metallico sono nelle fratture della gamba destra e del puntello sinistro (*ante* 1898). Reinach 1897, 77, n° 2; Macchioro 1912, 266, 234-235 e 280-283, fig. 15; Manderscheid 1981, 81, tav. 22; Laforgia 1985, 344; Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 65-66.

44 Macchioro 1912, fig. 15; anche Manderscheid 1981, 81, tav. 22.

45 Macchioro 1912, 281.

46 Firenze, Palazzo Pitti, giardini di Boboli; marmo pentelico; h 165 cm; II sec. d.C. Macchioro 1911, 89-97; 1912, 283. Per l'Hermes Boboli, Siebert 1990, 321 e 378-379, n° 396; Landwehr 1998, 151, fig. 26.

47 Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 66.

48 Macchioro 1912, 235.

49 Amalfitano *et al*. 1990, 65.

50 Valeri 2005, 194.

51 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 145039; marmo pentelico; h 106 cm; metà-seconda metà del II sec. d.C. Cristilli 2006, 172-176, figg. 7-8.

52 Cristilli 2003; 2006; 2007.

53 L'assenza di grandi programmi edilizi in città, lo svolgersi regolare dei *Sebastà* (che sottintende una forte organizzazione alle spalle ed un giro d'affari con ripercussioni positive sull'economia cittadina), insieme alle importanti indicazioni fornite dalla manutenzione delle

infrastrutture, non consentono, secondo P. Arthur, di parlare di decadenza per Napoli, ma, anzi, si tratterebbero di validi indicatori di un periodo stabile della comunità municipale. Arthur 2002, 9.

[54] Cristilli 2003, 16-19 e 31-35.

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BABESCH 83 (2008), 187-222. doi: 10.2143/BAB.83.0.2033107.

Reviews

KAREN FRANCIS, *Explorations in Albania, 1930-39. The Notebooks of Luigi Cardini, Prehistorian with the Italian Archaeological Mission*. London: British School at Athens, 2005. X+222 pp., 99 figs.; 30 cm (Supplementary volume 37). – ISBN 0-904887-480.

The publication of notebooks belonging to Luigi Cardini (1898-1971), recording his work with the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania between 1930 and 1939, sheds new light on the prehistory of Albania, and provides a fascinating portrait of archaeological investigation. The Cardini archive was discovered by chance in 1999, in the Istituto Italiano di Paleontologia Umana (IPU) in Rome during research into the Italian Mission's work in Albania. It consists of field notes, drawings, photographs, maps and a small number of artefacts and soil samples. Here, Cardini's manuscripts are transcribed in full with English translations, presented alongside his drawings and photographs, as well as contemporary illustrations. The material is complemented by a biography of Cardini, a synthesis of his work in southwest Albania, and the results of a site survey conducted in 2001-2002.

Cardini was appointed as prehistorian to the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania in 1930. The Mission's work had begun two years before, following an 'archaeological accord' struck between the government of Benito Mussolini and the fledgling state of Albania, which was intended to advance Italy's political influence in the region (see O.J. Gilkes (ed.), *The Theatre at Butrint*, London 2005). There is little in these notebooks from which to judge Cardini's commitment to the Fascist cause, but what can be seen is the work of an assiduous scholar, whose explorations of caves, rock shelters and other sites of prehistoric occupation resulted in some important discoveries.

Cardini's substantial contribution to the study of prehistory and palaeontology over a period of more than forty years is outlined in a brief biography by Robin Skeates. His career began as a schoolteacher in his hometown of Florence, before he was appointed to work at the IPU in 1928, having taken courses in the natural sciences, specialising in vertebrate osteology. The IPU, then located in Florence, undertook palaeontological, anthropological and ethnographic research, and Cardini participated in a range of activities including archaeological fieldwork, laboratory research, curatorial and administrative duties. In 1930 he was appointed to the Italian Archaeological Mission to Albania by then director Luigi Ugolini, returning to Albania in 1936 and 1937, and finally in 1939. During this time he surveyed almost the entire coastal zone between Vlora and Butrint in the south, visiting around 100 caves and open-air sites, and collecting surface and excavated material.

A wealth of information is recorded in the notebooks, from travel details and names of contacts, to site and artefact descriptions and neatly drawn pottery sherds, plans and profile sections. In a report describing his brief campaign in 1939, which focused on the area around Butrint, Cardini recalls the discovery of 'a vast Palaeolithic surface deposit', at Xarra; a complex of five adjacent caves 'with abundant remains of an Eneolithic culture', near Himara; and preliminary investigations at the caves of Shën Marina and Gorandzi. Around the village of Xarra, Cardini collected hundreds of flint tools including Middle and Upper Palaeolithic finds that proved the existence of an early open-air site, the first of its kind to be discovered in the Balkans. Trial trenches at the Himara caves yielded Eneolithic pottery and numerous flakes of flint and jasper, and at Shën Marina cave in the Shalësi Mountains, soundings revealed clearly stratified soil containing fossilised animal bones and lithic tools. Cardini describes his intention to investigate these sites further, but the outbreak of World War II prevented him from doing so.

In a book that records work at the Velcia Caves in the Kurvelesh Mountains in 1936 and 1937 (archive item 2.6), detailed notes describe the various pottery, lithics and bones recovered, among which were three polished stone axes and two chisels (see item 2.8b). Several pottery wares were identified, including incised and painted types, as well as worked bone and flint blades. Cardini provides concise descriptions of each pottery type, whose find-spot and stratigraphical position is recorded. The same is done for fossilised animal bones, which are identified by species, as well as human teeth and fragments of human mandibles. This documentation of material in relation to soil strata, which are also described in some detail, displays Cardini's concern for archaeological context, and his methodical approach to excavation.

The final part of the volume comprises a chronological synthesis of Cardini's research in Albania, and the results of recent surveys carried out in the southwest of the country, written by Karen Francis and Ilirian Gjipali. The modern survey sought to relocate and examine sites that Cardini visited, and to assess their potential for further research. Thanks to the accuracy of Cardini's descriptions, plans and drawings, most of the cave sites were easily found, and a number of previously unrecorded caves and surface scatters were also identified. The open-air site at Xarra is perhaps the most intriguing of Cardini's discoveries, and its significance is highlighted in the survey report. Only some of the many lithics collected by Cardini have been located, but the surviving assemblage, combined with material gathered on more recent surveys, contains a mixture of small, flint pebble tools, Levallois artefacts and a number of Aurignacian elements, including carinated scrapers and burins. The presence of these lithics at Xarra shows that the site was inhabited over a long period, and raises interesting questions about the overlap between stone tool technology in the Middle to Upper Palaeolothic.

The Cardini archive is an important resource for both the history of the Italian Mission in Albania and for research on early human settlement in this little-

studied region. The material gives an interesting snapshot of archaeological fieldwork, from the minutiae of budgets and contact lists, to precise descriptions and drawings of sites and finds, and shows Cardini as a meticulous scholar. In their unabridged form, the notes have a detail and charm often lacking in the formal context of an excavation report. As well as bringing to light an important source of information on the prehistory of Albania, this well-illustrated volume is a fascinating record of archaeological practice.

W. Anderson

VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA (Hrg), *Meisterwerke. Internationales Symposion anläßlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler*. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2005. 352 pp., 270 figs.; 30 cm. – ISBN 3-7774-2655-5.

This book includes 23 contributions delivered on a symposium held in 2003 in Freiburg im Breisgau, Adolf Furtwängler's (henceforth F.) hometown, to celebrate the 150th anniversary of his birth. The diversity of topics reflects F.'s activity as an archaeologist and a teacher; some of the articles are original insights in F.'s fields of interest, while others comment on specific aspects of his research. The title, borrowed from F.'s 1893 celebrated volume on Greek sculpture, reveals the fil rouge running through this collection: the quest for 'master' and 'masterpiece' rooted in the positivistic *mentalité* and, of course, the usefulness of such concepts in current scholarship.

An account of F.'s private life opens the book, followed by five articles that take into consideration topical aspects of F.'s work, both on an historical ground and in its relevance to the present. Ruppenstein analyses F.'s main contributions to the study of Greek bronze age: the chronological arrangement of pottery into categories, and the recognition of Mycaenean culture as Greek. Mertens questions the search for 'masters' in prehistoric Greek art (keeping on a rather vague level when hinting at F.'s thought): although an anthropocentric perspective seems not to fit in with the lack of names and evidence from written sources, polychromy and variation of geometric patterns may point out individual choices and workshop practices. Kunze's detailed account sets F.'s writings on geometric art and on the bronze finds from Olympia into their cultural context, dwelling upon the reactions of his contemporary readers. Two articles address F.'s view of Roman sculpture. Kansteiner carries on F.'s attempt at reconstructing the model for some Roman statues, be it a Greek prototype, a variation, or a Roman classicizing creation. Perplexities (also raised in the discussion) concern unclear definitions and the choice of stylistic homogeneity as a distinctive criterion. Hofter outlines a thought-provoking survey on the consideration of sculptural copies from the Renaissance on, though closer attention would have been welcomed to key figures such as Mengs and Visconti.

A sequence of contributions on Greek sculpture begins with Berges' study of late 7th and early 6th century BC *kouroi* from Knidos. The sculptures from Olympia and the Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi suggest to Bol interesting remarks on artistic tradition and foreign influence. Strocka sums up the research on some 'masterpieces' by Phidias, combining information from literary sources and the evidence offered by the body of Roman copies. To one of the statues discussed by Strocka, the Cybele on the Athenian Agora ascribed by the written sources either to Phidias or to Agorakritos, is dedicated an article by Despinis, who argues for the attribution to the latter and tries to reconstruct its lost model. Delivorrias traces a sculptural type of Poseidon, retained in two statuettes from Eleusis and Iraklion, to a 5th century BC prototype. Holtzmann links a set of atticizing stelai from Thasos to an Attic workshop documented there around 340 BC; one wonders whether the concept of stylistic influence would not have been enough for interpreting this case. The sculpture from Knidos is also dealt with by Bruns-Özgan, according to whom the presence of Attic workshops significantly increased in the mid-4th century BC, to meet with the ambitions of a wealthy élite. Andreae inquires into what has been one of the most fascinating problems (not only for archaeologists) over the last two centuries: the position of the missing arms of the Venus de Milo. In a learned example of *Meisterforschung*, Moreno draws a dense roundup of some of the latest and most-discussed attributions to Greek masters of the Classical and Hellenistic age. Childs and Borbein explore the two sides of a same coin, the role of masterpieces for the Ancients themselves and in modern archaeology. Childs describes the ancient notion of style as a set of ongoing features, liable to innovation and bound to be combined with the proper meaning, rather than the artist's 'label'. Borbein challenges *Meisterforschung* and raises a number of compelling questions which is impossible to evade when studying Greek and Roman art.

The last section deals with Greek vase-painting. Brijder examines the 'masterpieces' created within the so-called C Painter's workshop (575-555 BC) and later produced as standardized types for a wider public. With similar concern, Mommsen accounts for the activity of the black-figure vase-painter Exekias in terms of a fruitful dialectic between tradition and personal innovations. Williams describes the interdependence dynamics within the group of the Pioneers Painters and Potters (Euthymides, Phintias, Euphronios, Smikros) on the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Oakley presents a set of new attributions to the Achilles Painter (470-425 BC) and the Phiale Painter (450-425 BC), arranging the material as to reconstruct their stylistic evolution. Tiverios concentrates on an iconographic theme (Athena and Poseidon contending for Attica) as displayed on a red-figure hydria from Pella, and links peculiar figurative choices to historical events taking place in Athens towards the end of the 5th century BC. Zwierlein-Diehl's closing article deals with inscribed gems, with a summary of their fortune in scholarship before and after F.

The contributions collected by Strocka are generally of a high level and raise the attention to a wide range of issues, essential for current archaeological research. Articles are followed by sometimes lenghty discussions, that render the liveliness of the debate among the participants. A final discussion summarizes the main topics, focusing on the leit-motif of all contributions: the definition and value of 'masterpieces' in periods

and art forms in which 'authoriality' was vested with radically diverse meanings. Except for a few minor inconsistencies in bibliographical references, the book is well edited and fairly illustrated. This miscellany is definitely an item that should be available in any well-stocked scientific or departmental library, a stimulating reading for graduate-students and professionals who wish to keep themselves abreast of the *status quaestionis* in most areas of Greek archaeology.

Anna Anguissola

L. SUMMERER, *Hellenistische Terrakotten aus Amisos*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999, 232 pp, 263 ill, 2 appendixes. – ISBN 3-515-07409-0.

This book is a reworked version of the author's dissertation at the Munich University in 1997. It contains an excellent catalogue of the Hellenistic terracottas (almost one third of the book), found at the possible site of the Milesian colony of Amisos at the southern coast of the Black Sea. Like most of the former Greek colonies on the Turkish Black Sea coast, this site was never properly excavated and the author makes it clear that the exact location of Amisos, which was probably situated near the modern Turkish town of Samsun, is still unclear. Those parts which were excavated probably belong to Eupatoria, a sub-city of Amisos, founded during the reign of Mithridates VI in the 2nd century BC. (p. 159). Destruction, even nowadays caused by illegal housing and military building activities, makes it unlikely that the real location of Amisos will ever be found (pp. 139-140). The uncertain situation near the possible site causes the loss of essential material from Amisos through robbery and illegal sale of artefacts to collectors and museums abroad.

Construction of a chronology of finds is hardly possible as most artefacts in museums in Turkey (most at Samsun and Istanbul) and Western Europe come from not documented or robber excavations.

So the author really deserves credit for not only publishing an important part of the art history of the Hellenistic Black Sea region but also an economic history. In several chapters, the literature about the Hellenistic terracottas from Amisos is mentioned (amazingly few), a history of Amisos is given (unluckily too short), an overview of all archaeological material found near Samsun is given, a description of all known types of Hellenistic terracottas from Amisos, finding places, technical details of the terracotta production, chronology and style of the Amisos terracottas and the above mentioned catalogue.

Amisos seems to have been the centre of serial production and main supplier of Hellenistic terracottas for at least the eastern and northern Black Sea area and parts of Ionia. Terracottas were not only used for burials (in sarcophagi) and religious objects (on altars) but also for the decoration of roofs and as children toys. The most important items were Dionysos protomes (Dionysos Botrys, Dionysos Tauromorophos, Dionysos Mitrephoros, bearded and not bearded protomen of Dionysos), especially during the reign of Mithridates VI when the Dionysos cult was prominent in the kingdom of the Pontus (p. 141). Other objects were masks, statues of satyrs, heads of male, female and children, animal heads (bulls) and plants as decoration. Terracottas seem to have been one of the main products in the economy of Hellenistic Amisos although it probably also produced amphoras without stamp (p. 32), possibly for the export of olive oil like the city of Sinope, also situated at the southern Black Sea coast. The importance of the economy of Amisos was already attested through the wide dispersal of its coinage in the Pontic area. Wine was imported from Samos, Chios and Thasos as is proven by large amounts of amphoras found near Samsun. In short, this publication is without doubt the most up to date and complete study of an important Greek colony on the southern coast of the Black Sea.

Jan G. de Boer

PIA GULDAGER BILDE/JAKOB MUNK HØJTE/VLADIMIR F. STOLBA (eds.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas: Studies presented to A.N. Sceglov on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Black Sea Studies* I. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003. 397 pp., figs.; 24,5 cm (Black Sea Studies I). – ISBN 87-7934-085-7.

This volume is the first in a new series which is issued by the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies. *The Cauldron of Ariantas*, a joint project of the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies and the Institute for the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, is a 'Festschrift' presented to the Russian archaeologist Prof. Dr. A.N. Sceglov who is specialized in the archaeology of the Crimea and particularly that of the site of Chersonesos for already many decades. But one of his most important achievements was probably an article in which he put an end to the long existing myth of a Greek grain trade from the Black Sea to Athens in the archaic and classical periods (Le commerce du blé dans le Pont Septentrional (seconde moitié du VIIème-Vème siècle) in Lordkipanidze and Lévêgue (eds.), *Le Pont Euxin vu par les Grecs*, Paris 1990), 141-159). Most of the 21 articles in *The Cauldron of Ariantas* are concerned with the social and economic history of the northern and north-western Black Sea area. The book starts with a preface and a list of the 201 books and articles published by Sceglov. Hereafter J. Domanskij and K. Marcenko make a strong case, regarding the earliest levels at the site of Berezan, for the search of metals, instead of trade, agriculture or fishing as being an important cause for the early Greek colonisation in the Black Sea area. This theory was denied in the past by M. Treister (*The role of metals in ancient Greek history*, Leiden 1996), 31-38) but is now confirmed by new excavations of the earliest levels of Apollonia Pontica. M. Vachtina makes an important contribution to the debate concerning the earliest defensive walls around Greek colonies in the Black Sea area. It seems that not only Histria was already fortified in the 6th century BC but that the same situation also existed at the Greek site of Porthmion on the Crimea. This could give an important indication of early Scythian penetration in this area. G. Hinge notes similarities between Scythian and Spartan rites of initiation and kinship groups in Herodotus' accounts. N. Gavriljuk postulates that slave-trade instead of grain trade domi-

nated Graeco-Scythian commercial relations in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. A. Avram, in an excellent article, proposes a new restoration of an engraved piece of marble (*I. Histriae 380*), proving it to be a dedication to Leto and also provides further evidence for the transfer of the cult of Leto from Miletus to its Black Sea colonies. A. Rusjaeva gives a brief account of the development of the western temenos at Olbia till its decline in the 1st century AD, while V. Krapivina in another article concerning Olbia catalogues 23 bronze weights discovered during the excavation of this Greek city. Four articles in this book are concerned with Sceglov's main field of interest, Chersonesos and its surroundings. They are written by G. Nikolaenko, S. Saprykin, P. Bilde and V. Zubar/E. Kravcenko and they are concerned with the *chora* of Chersonesos and its measures against attacks during the second half of the 3rd century BC. Another myth-braking article however is that of Zubar and Kravcenko, in which they demonstrate that the accepted view of a 'Dorian' model of colonization in which a Greek city was surrounded by settlements of a subjugated non-Greek population rests in the case of Chersonesos on an erroneous interpretation of several partially excavated sites in its surroundings which were probably populated by Greeks the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. D. Braund denies in his article any breaches in the relations between Athens and the Bosporian kingdom between the reign of Spartocus I and the late 4th century BC. E. Molev discusses the relations between the Bosporian kingdom and Chersonesos between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC in its relation with the Scythian and Sarmatian presence in this area. The article of the late J. Vinogradov deals with two supposed waves of Sarmatian invaders in the north-Pontic region, one in the early 3rd century BC and another, much more destructive one in the 2nd century BC resulting in close relations between the north-Pontic Greek colonies and the Pontic king Mithridates VI. S. Kryzjickij offers a mathematical model to evaluate the reconstruction of attested Greek temples while P. Dupont discusses a vessel, depicted by Greek vase-painters, as a regulation system for bronze-melting furnaces. Three articles are concerned with amphorae. S. Monachov proves that the so-called 'proto-Thasian' amphoras were produced in several cities on the Thracian coast of Aegean Sea and V. Kac offers a new chronology of the amphora's of Heraclea Pontica. This being extremely important as they form the largest group on the south-western Black Sea coast and in Thrace. Finally V. Stolba argues that amphora's bearing the stamp AMASTRIOS came from a workshop at Heraclea Pontica which was owned by the city's queen Amastris, somewhere between 305 to 300 BC. The next article is again a jewel in this volume. It is written by I. Tunkina and describes the early history of Russian archaeology of the southern Russia during the 18th and early 19th century, representing a.o. the earliest archaeological maps and illustrations of finds from this area. The last article of this volume is by J. Højte and deals with the statues of Claudius in the Roman empire.

The Cauldron of Ariantas is without doubt an enrichment to the growing amount of literature regarding the archaeology of the Black Sea area and contains several contributions of an extremely high scientific level.

Jan G. de Boer

MOGENS HERMAN HANSEN/THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. XV+1396 pp.; 25 cm. – ISBN 0-19-814099-1.

Our understanding of Archaic and Classical Greek culture is indissolubly connected with a deeper insight into the essence and functioning of the polis. Many scholars today will agree that although 'city state' is a term that is too imprecise to take us much further in this respect, alternative definitions and descriptions remain a matter of debate. The Copenhagen Polis Centre was founded in 1993 by M.H. Hansen with the aim of carrying out a large-scale, in-depth investigation of the Greek polis and of addressing precisely this type of question. During the ten-year period of the Centre's funding, Hansen and his team have proven to be extremely productive. Their output includes the publication of seven volumes of conference papers, seven collections of essays, a two-volume comparative study of city state cultures, and the present inventory of Greek poleis, which can be regarded as the project's crowning glory. The project's overriding aim is to present an emic view of the polis, that is, the ancient Greeks' understanding of their own political and social order. The main aim of the study under review is to compile a comprehensive inventory of all known archaic and classical poleis attested in contemporary sources, to compare this inventory with all general references to the nature of the polis in the same sources, and then to establish what the Greeks thought a polis was (p. 3). A secondary aim was to determine the degree of urbanization by investigating whether all major towns were poleis in the urban sense, and whether polis towns were the only nucleated settlements within polis territories (5).

Inventory describes all poleis with the help of a standardized database card of a selection of topics to be discussed. These topics comprise some forty different aspects of polis organization, including territory size, determination of toponym and city-ethnic, second-order non-polis settlements, polis status, historical developments (only for well-known poleis), type of constitution and political institutions, civic subdivisions (phratriai, phylai, etc.), Panhellenic victors, major divinities and cult, elements of urbanization (viz. city walls, public buildings and public spaces), coinage and *stasis*. The first 150-odd pages that form Part 1 are devoted to a general discussion and evaluation by Hansen of each of these aspects and of a number of related themes, such as the importance of the polis concept for the ancient Greeks, emergence and demise of the polis, definition of the ancient concept of the polis, and use and meaning of polis and related terms (*asty*, *polisma*, *patris*, *komē*, *chora*, etc.). The actual inventory (Part 2) comprises almost 1100 pages. Ancient historians and archaeologists have worked together to systematically present all poleis within a defined region, preceded by an introduction on every region. The inventory covers the time span between ca 650 and 323

BC - that is, the period for which we have reliable literary sources, down to the time when the polis was transformed under Phillip II and Alexander of Macedon. It is estimated that during this period some 1500 poleis and their territories spread over the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, from Spain in the west to Syria and Georgia in the east. Of these, 1035 poleis are described in the inventory. Part 3 consists of 27 indices that list many of the aspects described in Part 1. In this study as a whole, priority is given to information drawn from ancient literary sources, with important contributions from epigraphy and numismatics and only a subsidiary role for archaeology. The book does not contain any maps or graphics; for the locations of sites and other, general topographic features, the reader is referred to the *Barrington Atlas* (2000 edition).

Hansen's discussion of the parameters of the term polis in Part 1 is generally rich in detail and well balanced, and one may expect many readers to agree with his careful conclusions. This is perhaps less true for the chapter titled 'The polis as a religious organisation', in which H. bluntly concludes that '*polis* religion was not necessarily the core of the *polis*' (131). What seems a little odd is his suggestion to classify all poleis outside the Greek heartland as type αγ, β or γ as an indication of the degree of Hellenicity, a '*polis* type γ [being] a predominantly barbarian community in which there are some elements of Hellenic civilization' (7). The underlying idea is that 'the opposition between Greek settlers and the native foreigners ... [is] central to the concept of the polis'. However, one may doubt whether this criterion was significant and worked in the way H. suggests. For instance, it remains unclear why Miletos remains outside this classification, as this polis - according to its own charter myth - saw itself as a partly Karian settlement and maintained its Karian roots and traditions, and later in its history also accommodated Karians living in its *chora* (Hdt. 1.146, 6.20). Besides, Hellenicity, like any other form of ethnicity, is a situational construct that is negotiable and subject to change, and thus difficult to capture in a rigid classification. Moreover, degree of Hellenization is an etic criterion rather than an emic one, since it primarily reflects modern norms and judgements.

But these points of critique are minor details. To produce a study of this scope and size is an achievement that should command the highest respect. Although the bulk of the book is written by no less than 49 different authors, the presentation of the data in each chapter and under each entry is highly uniform in size, content and coverage of the sources. To edit such a volume is a truly Herculean effort, for which the editors deserve the highest praise. *Inventory* will no doubt turn out to be a standard reference work for many generations to come. However, simply browsing through this book is both entertaining and informative, given the number of minor and less known poleis one stumbles upon. Something similar applies to the indices. Although the editors/compilers do not discuss these lists in detail, it is not difficult to draw one's own conclusions. As for polis size, our fixation on big poleis like Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Miletos or Syrakoussai makes it easy to forget that there were only a handful of poleis of this size. A majority of poleis held territories equivalent in size to an area of 10 by 10 km (see Index 9 on the size of polis territories). Similarly, our preoccupation with democracy should not stand in the way of concluding that tyranny and civil wars were no less endemic in the polis than democracy was (see Index 11 on polis constitution and Index 19 on *stasis*).

To sum up, the great value of this book is that we now have a description of what the ancient Greeks thought a polis was, and - for the first time - an inventory of all known Greek poleis. Also valuable is the healthy realization that Archaic and Classical Greek culture was the product of a collection of what were predominantly dwarf states centred on what were mere villages that spilled much of their energy on both infighting and trying to subjugate or annihilate their peers.

Jan Paul Crielaard

I. MYLONAS SHEAR, *Kingship in the Mycenaean World and Its Reflections in the Oral Tradition*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2004. XII+233 pp., 11 pls; 23 cm. – ISBN 1-931534-12-8.

In this short study, S. elaborates some lines that she set out in her *Tales of Heroes: The Origins of the Homeric Texts* (New York and Athens, 2000). By comparing archaeological material from the Mycenaean period, evidence from Linear B tablets and references in Homer, the author underlines her point that these sources contain very similar information about kings and kingship, and that the oral tradition represented by the epics retained a coherent remembrance of Mycenaean kingship. She thus feels that the combined information from these various sources can be used to study the extent and nature of kingship in the Late Bronze Age.

The parts of this book that deal with archaeology and Linear B documents (Chs. 1 and 2) are perhaps the most relevant contribution to the debate about Mycenaean kingship. The author's discussion of the rise and character of the Mycenaean palaces and of the extent and nature of the palatial hierarchy are especially useful. S. sketches a gradual development from large, dominant family groups that produced the community's leaders during the period of the Shaft Graves, to a more restricted royal family line of supreme rulers (*wanakes*) who became increasingly powerful in the course of the palatial period. In line with current tendencies to tone down the Mycenaean king's power over society and economy, S. argues that within the kingdom there were other family groups and individuals that also had access to landholding, storage, administration, craft production, redistribution, trade, etc. She finds evidence of this in several rich architectural complexes at Mycenae that were located outside the palatial area proper, and in archaeological and documentary evidence from contemporary Ugarit that, in her view, offers a number of parallels for this situation (Ch. 3). Having said that, it is not entirely clear why in the summary at the end of the book S. concludes that the power of the *wanax* was largely based on economic strength (97, 100).

Less convincing are the parallels that S. draws between information from the tablets and that from the epics. According to the author, a fresh re-examination

of similarities is warranted by the realization that the tablets reflect the economy of the palaces, but not necessarily the economy of the rest of society. S. argues that the one-sided focus on the economy and the supposition that the economy was controlled by the palace has helped to obscure the many parallels between tablets, archaeology and epics. However, many of the parallels the author sees are rather superficial or of a too general nature to link them specifically to the Mycenaean period (see e.g. the existence of spatially separated cultic areas (53, 99); use of olive oil (56); women grinding grain and serving as bath attendants (57); existence of slavery (57); elite lifestyle centred on martial values and commensality (98-99, 103). Although Moses Finley, who emphasized the poignant dissimilarities between tablets and epics, is presented as the bad genius (40-41, 53), many of his points still hold true: indeed, in contrast to Mycenaean society, the world of Odysseus is unfamiliar with frescoed palaces, written administration, palatial workshops, a powerful priestly class and a complex landholding system.

A fundamental but problematic issue (discussed in Ch. 4) is the use of the terms (*w*)*anax* and *basileus*. The Mycenaean supreme ruler was called *wanax*. According to S., 'this same word [was used] for the king in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*' (p. 41; also p. 81), *anax* being the title of single rulers like Agamemnon, whereas *basileus* is a more generic term that was also used for kings who were subordinated to a sovereign ruler. The fact is that *basileus* is a title of public office while *anax* refers to authority in the private sphere (cf. N. Yamagata, *CQ* 47 (1997) 1-14). This is why Patroklos, who holds no formal office at all, can be called *anax*, and why Agamemnon, who is referred to as both *basileus* and *anax*, is called *basileuteros* (*Il*. 9.160, 392) to denote that he is the 'most kingly', that is, supreme king.

In the final chapter (Ch. 5), the author presents her opinion about the events during the final stages of the palatial era and the post-palatial period, the transmission of the epic tradition, and the transfiguration of political structures and nomenclature after the fall of the palaces. Although S. admits that the occasional use in Homer of the terms *basileus* and *anax* for the same person suggests that the clear distinction between these terms was beginning to fade, she believes that the occurrence of multiple *basileis* in the epics has a parallel in the Linear B documents and must be a reflection of the Mycenaean period, and not of a later period when the *basileus* was the ruler. However, such a belief can be maintained only if one is willing to overlook the fact that the term *basileus* had undergone a very dramatic change since the Mycenaean period when the *qa-si-re-u* was not even part of the palatial elite, but was a peripheral figure in both geographical and political terms. All in all, it is difficult to maintain that 'the bards retained the knowledge reflected in the epics of the early *wanax* and how he had governed his kingdom' (86).

In conclusion, the reader might find the discussion of the archaeological evidence and information from Linear B documents concerning Mycenaean kingship very stimulating, especially given the many references to recent literature that the author provides to back up her argumentation. However, her plea to consider the Homeric epics as a sourcebook for the Mycenaean period engenders the uncomfortable feeling of being caught in a pre-Finley time warp.

Jan Paul Crielaard

MANUELA FANO SANTI (ed.), *Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari*. 2 vols. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider editore, 2004. 986 pp., figs.; 30 cm (Archaeologica 141) – ISBN 88-7689-200-1/ISSN 0391-9293.

This *Festschrift* in honor of Gustavo Traversari, former professor in Archaeology and Greek and Roman history of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, is a massive edition, published in two volumes and appearing 5 years after his retirement. As well as 72 scientific articles, the book contains an overview of Traversari's publications and his services to the Ca' Foscari University, especially regarding his organization of and donations and contributions to the archaeological library.

Traversari published many studies in the area of ancient sculpture, ranging from the classical Greek period to the late Roman era. The articles by numerous colleagues in the festschrift mainly focus on these topics.

Volumes I and II both start with an article about the Hellenistic sculptures from the cave of Tiberius at Sperlonga, in volume I by Bernard Andreae, and in volume II by German Hafner. It might be that this is merely accidental, because the list of authors is in alphabetical order and has been split evenly between the two almost equal-sized volumes. From a scientific point of view it is a brilliant move, because it literally enables the reader to view both opinions side by side.

Andreae deals with three questions regarding the sculptures in the cave of Tiberius:

1. The reconstruction of the Polyphemus group.

Based upon some newly found fragments, Andreae proposes a new reconstruction of the group of Polyphemus and Odysseus with his men. According to Andreae, the action depicted is not the actual blinding of the Cyclops, but the growing tension of the moment just before: Odysseus and two of his men are lifting the wooden spear into the right position to attack. As for the date of the *original* group, Andreae proposes 160 BC, in view of its stylistic coherence with the Pergamon altar.

2. The missing group from the southeast side of the cave.

In 1969 traces were found of a base measuring 22 x 9 feet, meant for a sculpture group of at least 3 persons. Andreae identifies the missing group, again based upon new fragments, as Odysseus, Diomedes, and Philoktetes in the cave at Lemnos.

3. The iconology of the sculpture groups.

The iconology of the sculptures in the cave seems to be derived from a description by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, but Andreae questions whether Ovid, a known adversary of Tiberius, really conceived this part of the *Metamorphoses*. Andreae thinks that the author of these verses was Ovid's editor Julius Montanus, a close friend of Tiberius. Because of the connection between the *Metamorphoses* and the 'Bildprogramm', Andreae dates the sculptures between AD 14-19. This date is therefore also presumed for the Scylla group and the copy of the Laocoon group.

Hafner deals with this Scylla group from the cave,

signed by the sculptors of the Laocoon, Athenodoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros. He assumes that they created an original piece of art, based upon an older type. The main difference is that they added a fragment of a ship to the group, which was located probably in the center of the cave, surrounded by water. Hafner argues that a slightly modified copy of the group was located in a niche in Rome, serving as a fountain sculpture. He is not clear in dating the group (he thinks even a date in Flavian times is possible).

The other articles in this nicely edited and lavishly illustrated festschrift (some of the plates are in color), are certainly worth reading and studying. Unfortunately it would take too much space to discuss them here, but their subjects can be divided as follows:

Subject	Art.	Authors
Greek & Hellenistic sculpture	16	Andreae; Balty (J.Ch.); Blazquez; Boschung; Corso; Faedo; Freyer-Schauenburg; Giuliano; Goette; Hafner; Herdejürgen; Künzl; Salasino; Sperti; Thomas (R.); Verzar-Bass
Roman sculpture	13	Baratte/Ouertaoui; Beschi; Bouzek; Calvi; Chevallier; De Maria; Gasparri; Goethert (K.); Lahusen; Ortalli; Sediari; Thomas (E.); Wielgosz
Portraits	7	Bejor; Braemer; Cambi; Duthoy-Frel; Equini Schneider; Fittschen; Kiss
Ancient Architecture	8	Bammer; Danner; Goethert (K.P.); Goretti; Invernizzi; Lagona; Lazzarini
Mosaics	2	Balty (J.); Ovadiah
Prehistory	2	Biaggi; Salvatori
Collections	4	Bodon; Favaretto; Neverov; Palma Venetucci
Greek literature & epigraphy	3	Cresci Marrone; Bongard-Levin/Bukharin; Franco
Minoan & Egyptian cult	2	Carinci/La Rosa; Parlasca
Etruscan topics	4	Fleischer; Maggiani; Marinelli; Zaccharia-Ruggio
Iconography	3	Ghedini; Moscati; Turnheim
Vases & handicrafts	4	Marzi; Modrzewska-Pianetti; Schauenburg; Tosi
Glyptics	2	Nardelli; Sena Chiesa
Excavations & finds	2	Tirelli; Fiore/Tagliacuzzo

It is clear that the focus of the articles is on ancient sculpture (50%). For scholars interested in this area, the book seems indispensable, as it provides many contributions on unpublished material and new views on existing works of art.

Richard de Kind

PENELOPE M. ALLISON, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii* III: *the finds, a contextual study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006. 502 pp., 83 figs., 132 pls. – ISBN 0-19-926312-4.

This volume is the fourth to appear in a series of five books devoted to one of the better preserved house-blocks of Pompeii, *insula* I 10, which is best known for the large and richly decorated house named after a painting of the Greek comedy writer Menander (I 10, 4). The scope of the series is both to describe and publish all aspects of the archaeological record of the house-block and to come to an understanding of the habitation history of the area from the oldest visible remains until 79 AD. Earlier volumes included a study of the standing structures by Roger Ling (1997), an analysis of the decorations by Roger and Lesley Ling (2005) and a detailed publication of the silver treasure found in the House of the Menander by Kenneth Painter (2001). A fifth volume about the epigraphic material is currently being prepared by Antionio Varone and Joyce Reynolds. The present volume has been written by Penelope Allison and focuses on the artifacts found during the excavation of the insula in the 1920s and 1930s.

The volume is heavy and large and has plates with pictures and detailed drawings of almost all individual objects. The text is divided into five parts: a general introduction on methodology and terminology, a catalogue of finds, analyses of artifact assemblages on room level, a concluding chapter discussing the distribution of activities and the occupancy of the *insula* in AD 79 and three appendices. The book is a comprehensive exercise in detailed archaeological analysis, and the first really thorough analysis of artifacts and artifact assemblages found in Pompeii. Contrary to Allison's earlier work, which tends to concentrate mainly on artifact assemblages in houses, this book also highlights, through descriptions, pictures and drawings, the specific properties of the individual objects. Further, as the book concentrates on an entire *insula*, it does not only discuss the residential complexes, but also involves contextual analyses of artifact assemblages in independent shops and workshops.

The book starts with a thorough discussion of all methodological issues related to the study of Pompeian artifacts. In the first chapter, the reader learns a lot about the practice of recording artifacts and artifact assemblages at Pompeii in the 1930s and about the post-excavation history of the artifacts left *in situ* or stored elsewhere. Allison also provides a detailed account of the cataloguing process that was the first phase of the research for this book. Further, she clarifies the analytical problems to be dealt with when making sense of artifact assemblages, most prominently the possibility of pre-excavation disturbances of the archaeological record in Roman and early modern times and the possibly disruptive effects of ongoing seismic activity on living conditions within the *insula* in the period preceding the AD 79 eruption. In the second chapter, Allison gives an overview of the current state of knowledge about artifacts, emphasizing that of many objects we do not know the actual function, but only a fairly wide range of possible uses.

The second part consists of the catalogue of finds

ordered by house and room. Descriptions are generally short but complete and clear, with references to the pictures and scaled drawings of all objects that could be traced back in the store-rooms. Where possible, Allison provides an overview of scholarly discussion about individual objects. While this part is necessarily rather descriptive and may be mostly of use to specialists studying certain categories of evidence, the third part is far more interpretive. It gives room-by-room and house-by-house interpretations of finds ensembles and tries to answer questions about the uses of rooms and about the functioning of the houses in 79. This often proves hard, as in most rooms very few diagnostic artifacts have been found. Many rooms do not show clear signs of having been used at all or in a different way than one might expect. This often brings Allison to the conclusion that rooms were abandoned or downgraded, such as the atrium and the peristyle of the Casa del Menandro (p. 333).

The fourth part of the book summarizes the most important conclusions, including a reassessment of the uses of the individual artifacts based on their appearance in *insula* I 10, an interpretation of the distribution of certain household activities and a chapter on the occupancy of the *insula* in 79. An important conclusion drawn in this last chapter is that there are a number of reasons to assume that the insula was relatively sparsely inhabited at the time of the eruption (p. 405).

Allison leaves the reviewer with little to quibble about. One of the few issues that may be raised is that one sometimes gets the impression that the interpretive part of the work could have profited from a little bit more scholarly discussion: Allison often has only her own earlier work to refer to. This is obviously beyond her fault, but if there had been more data for comparison than the thirty atrium houses Allison studied for her dissertation, and a few more scholarly opinions, it would probably have been easier for Allison and her readers to understand to what degree the patterns of artifact distribution discernible in *insula* I 10 really differ from situations elsewhere in the city and whether that difference is caused by Maiuri's way of doing archaeology or reflects a real situation.

Nevertheless, Allison's book is the first of its kind in Pompeian scholarship and, given the thorough discussion of almost all methodological aspects related to artifact analysis and the detailed descriptions, drawings and photographs of the individual objects, it is likely to become a standard reference point for any scholar working with artifacts and artifact assemblages in the Vesuvian area, so that it belongs in any decent university library. As to its reception among scholars, we may only hope that it inspires and encourages others to produce similarly detailed studies of other insulae, as the most important contributions to current debates about Pompeii are not likely to come from excavations underneath AD 79 floor levels, but from the archives and depots of the *Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei*.

Miko Flohr

MARGUERITE YON, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*. Winona Lake (Indiana): Eisenbrauns, 2006. 179 pp., 138 figs.; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-1-57506-029-3.

This book is the (long) awaited translation of Marguerite Yon's publication on the site of Ugarit which she directed and excavated from 1978 to 1998. The original *La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Paris 1997), is the perfect introduction on this major Ancient Near Eastern city, its translation into the more accessible English is most welcome. In a brief update the most recent information from the time gap between the French and present English publication is submitted. From the same perspective the selected bibliography sections across the book now include publications up till 2005. The work presented by the author is strictly archaeological in nature and does not include any study of the rich historical sources found at Ugarit since its discovery.

Ugarit is the ancient name of Tell Ras Shamra, a mound located 1 km from the Mediterranean coast, some 12 km north of the modern Syrian city of Al-Latakiah. Its prominent geographical location made it the centre of a local kingdom. The city flourished and became the most dominant economical and political entity of the northern Levant throughout the Late Bronze Age.

The book is the result of the work conducted under the author's directorship over Tell Ras Shamra, but nevertheless succeeds in giving the reader a wide and complete scope of the excavations of both past and ongoing research programs at Ras Shamra. It presents an overview of all excavated areas of the tell, focuses on the most important discovered objects and gives a moderate but lucid insight on Ugarit's environment and history. Yon continues with this study the summarizing effort by J.-C. Courtois, *Supplément 9 du Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris 1979). Whereas Courtois' article was predominantly based on the French Missions publications since 1929 in *Syria* and *Ugaritica*, Yon's book assimilates this and adds the results from the *Ras Shamra-Ougarit* (RSO) series I-XI and other studies on Ugarit published after 1979.

In the brief 'Introduction' and Chapter 1 'Geography and History' a brief summary is given of the sites archaeological history, its geographical location, the environment and chronological history and Ugarit's satellite settlements Minet el-Beida and Ras ibn Hani. To the selected bibliography concerning the Kingdom of Ugarit the recent elaborate study of W. van Soldt, *The Topography of the City-State of Ugarit* (Münster 2005), should be added. As it is common in Ugaritic archaeology to subdivide the Middle and Late Bronze Age further into Middle Ugaritic I, II, III and Late Ugaritic I, II, III, it is unfortunate that the chronological table on p. 24 does not take this into account.

Since Yon concentrated during her directorship on the architecture of the tell, the elaborate Chapter 2, 'Description of the Tell', gives a well structured, overall impression of the various constructions and city quarters excavated during the more than seventy years of archaeological research. This chapter, forming the central part of the book, is arranged like the urban plan after the excavations stretching itself over the mound. The multiple drawings, especially the reconstructions by O. Callot, and translucent comments provide a good idea of the outlooks of the Late Bronze Age Levantine city. The opportunity to highlight some of the special architectural features known from Ugarit was not taken. A separate paragraph dedicated to the spectac-

ular structural tombs and their typology would have enriched this description, as these tombs are a dominant feature in Ugaritic architecture and culture. Nevertheless, the tombs are mentioned in the general observations made on the excavated constructions. The plans and drawings are in most cases copies from the original publications; unfortunately no new material was added. For a few of them, new versions or modifications in respect with the most recent insights would have been welcome (an exception is fig. 20).

In the closing Chapter 3, 'Artifacts Illustrating Official and Everyday Life', the author presents a compilation of objects from different collections and calls it 'an imaginary museum of Ugarit' (p. 123). Every object is discussed and technical and bibliographical references are given; occasionally they are accompanied by illustrative drawings. The artefacts, arranged by category, originate from both Ras Shamra and Minet el-Beida.

The graphical quality of the figures could be better, that of the pictures, especially those in colour, is poor. *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* is a well structured and easy to consult book (it has a small index), perfect as an introduction both for scholars and students. It should not, though, be considered as a complete or detailed treatise publication on the excavations conducted at Tell Ras Shamra since 1929.

Hendrik Hameeuw

R.R.R. SMITH, *Aphrodisias* II. *Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006. XIV+338 pp., 27 figs., 136 pls.; 31.5 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-3527-X.

In his *Roman portrait statuary from Aphrodisias*, which is the second volume of the Aphrodisias series, R.R.R. Smith (henceforth S.) publishes all marble portrait statues (and some relief portraits) from Aphrodisias - most of it for the first time - from the late 1st century BC to the mid 3rd century AD. In discussing the statuary remains S. goes beyond traditional questions of date and stylistic development, interpreting the statues in their social, political and architectural context. Thus, questions of elite self-representation, of the meaning and effect of the choice of costume, pose and scale, of imitation, adaptation or wilful re-design of imperial models, and the movement of statues and their redeployment elsewhere play an important part. The unusual richness and preservation of the marble statuary of Aphrodisias - which because of its fine marble quarry had a preference for marble over bronze statues - allowed S. and his team (there are contributions to the catalogue by Sheila Dillon, Christopher Hallett, Julia Lenaghan and Julie Van Voorhis) to reconstruct with a reasonable degree of certainty the find contexts of most statues and the original setting of some of them. Detailed maps of the find-locations of both inscribed bases and portrait statues give a clear impression of the re-use of statue bases and even parts of statues as building material (particularly in the 4th century city wall), but most of the surviving statues were found in or near the public buildings (theatre, bouleuterion, baths, agoras or agora gate) of the city centre, in which they were originally set up or later re-deployed.

The book falls into two parts. In the first part, 'Introduction', S. gives a synthetic account of Aphrodisian statuary in two long chapters (pp. 1-97). In the first chapter 'Local Contexts' S. presents the surviving statuary, setting it off against what is lost - he calculates that the total number of portrait statues in Aphrodisias in the Roman period lay between 1000 and 2,500 - and sets out his aims and method. Rather than discussing the Aphrodisian statues only in relation to the totality of Roman portraits he studies them from a local point of view trying to understand how each portrait statue functioned within its environment and local idea(l)s. Sections on 'archaeological contexts' and 'civic and honorific contexts' flesh out this stance and those on 'production and technique' and 'costumes and chronology' provide the necessary technical, stylistic and chronological details. Remarkably, most portrait statues were set up for male members of the local elite; only a minority was erected for the emperors, and a relatively high percentage, about 20 percent, honoured local women. This emphasis of Aphrodisian statuary on local notables accords well with S's aim to focus on the historical and physical context and the significance of the statues in the local tradition of self-representation.

In the second chapter 'Portrait Statues and Local History' S. discusses the main history of Aphrodisias in relation to its urban development and the statues set up in its public buildings from the late Hellenistic period until about AD 250, when Aphrodisias became a provincial capital and statuary honours for members of the local elite stopped. Relief portraits on sarcophagi fill up the gap up to AD 300 showing the adoption of statuary poses and costumes by well-to-do citizens below the local elite. This chapter provides a clear picture of the variations in portrait style that were used for men of various age groups (boys, ephebes, *neoi*, mature and elderly men) and for women, who were classed in only two groups (unmarried girls and married women) and of the choice of costume to signify different roles and ideals (toga, *himation*, cuirass, heroic or total nudity for men; variations in drapery for women). Moreover, differences in pose, hairstyle, attributes and colour gave meaning and individuality to the seemingly repetitive honorific statuary. Their relation to the buildings where they were found is carefully analysed, showing successive stages of erection, restoration or later re-deployment of statues as well as the removal of statues during a reorganization of the building. The chapter also signals trends in male and female portraiture, such as the imitation of imperial hairstyles - which in some cases remained in use long after having gone out of fashion in Rome - and of ideal Hellenistic portrait styles. The variety in statuary repertoire left room for individual choice leading to statues in which individual likeness and moral or civic virtues are combined. A table of 274 inscribed bases for portrait statues, divided into six categories of honorands, is found at the end of this chapter (pp. 75-97).

Part two (pp. 100-308) contains a detailed catalogue of 108 statues grouped according to dress and gender (ch. 3-7: on *togati*, statues in armour, naked statues, with *himation*, and statues of women), followed by busts and herms (ch. 8) and three chapters on separate portrait heads of emperors (ch. 9), of local men (ch. 10)

and of local women (ch. 11), altogether amounting to 220 items of portrait statuary. In the few cases that a statue has survived with its base, or when they can be associated with good reason, they are discussed together. The book is concluded by two chapters on portraits in relief: stelai and other reliefs (ch. 12) and select sarcophagi (ch. 13). Each chapter has a concise, but very illuminating, introductory section. The catalogue entries are lucid, detailed and very well-reasoned; the 163 plates with black-and-white photos are of high quality, though in a few cases small details of the description are hard to find in the photos. The exemplary presentation of the material, the contextual approach and the lucid discussion of the meaning of details of costume, pose and style make this study essential reading not only for archaeologists but also for ancient historians who work on (Greek) cities and their elites under the Roman Empire.

Emily A. Hemelrijk

K. WÜNSCHE (Hrsg.), *Mythos Troja* (Ausstellungskatalog). München: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 2006. 448 S., zahllose Abb.; 29,8 cm. – ISBN 3-933200-11-3.

Dieser Katalog, ein *catalogue raisonné*, ist das sehr versorgte, schön illustrierte Begleitbuch einer interessanten Ausstellung mit dem Thema 'Der Mythos von Troja'. Dieser Mythos ist in der antiken Literatur, in verschiedenen Epen, ins besondere in *Ilias* und *Odyssee*, und den fast völlig verloren gegangenen *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, *kleiner Ilias* und *Iliupersis*, in Liedern und Schauspielen und in der antiken Kunst überliefert. Im Kontext der Ausstellung spielt die Frage, ob es jemals einen trojanischen Krieg gegeben hat, keine Rolle. Niemand wird glauben, dass es jeh einen König Priamos gegeben hat, so schreibt der Herausgeber. Die Faszination für und der Glauben in Legende, in Text und Bild durch die Jahrhunderte, stehen zentral. Oft wird der Trojasage mit der *Ilias* assoziert, aber die meisten Vorstellungen beziehen sich auf Texte, die verloren gegangen sind, oder gar auf keine Texte. Man soll sie nicht als Text-Illustrationen betrachten. Die Künstler haben sie oft ihrer eigenen Zeit angepasst und aktualisiert. Die ausgestellten Artefakten stammen fast alle aus eigenem Besitz. Es handelt sich meistens um attische Vasen, weiter Skulpturen (Homer, Achilles, Diomedes), natürlich die Tympanen des Aphaia-Tempels, Reliefs, Terrakotta- und Bronze-Figuren, sowie Münzen und Gemmen (Leihgaben). Weiter gibt es im Katalog viele Photos von nicht ausgestellten Gegenstände, z.B. der Vivenzio-Hydria und der Laokoon-Gruppe. Als symbolischer Blickfanger stand am Eingang der Ausstellung ein neues hölzernes Pferd von Troja, eine Schöpfung von der städtischen Holzbauhochschule in München. Das hölzerne Pferd, die älteste Troja-Szene, ist am ersten abgebildet auf einem Pithos aus Mykonos im 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.

Neun Autoren beschreiben lesbar und gründlich die zahllosen Vorstellungen in der Reihenfolge der Troja-Episoden: Stiftung der Stadt, Vorspiel des Krieges, Krieg und Abenteuer der Überlebenden. Auch das Nachleben fehlt nicht. Der *modus operandi* ist also philologisch: die Vorstellungen, unterstützt von antiken Texten, werden gebraucht um die ganze Troja-'Geschichte' zu rekonstruieren. Die schönen Bilder zeigen z.B. die Entführung von Ganymedes, Sohn des Tros, Stifter der Stadt, die Geburt von Helena, das Paris-Urteil, der Zorn des Achilles, Hektors Lösung, die Ermordung von Priamos und Astyanax auf dem Altar des Zeus Herkeios. Was die Überlebenden betrifft, stehen Helena, Aeneas' Flucht, ein sehr frequentes Thema zwischen ca 520 und 500 v.Chr., und Odysseus' Abenteuer, Agamemnons Ermordung zentral. Der Typus des Katalogs ist eigentlich ein Buch, das man vor oder nach einer Ausstellung lesen sollte. Das große Format des Werkes, mit schlaffem Umschlag und langen Teksten, könnte man während eines Ausstellungsbesuches kaum lesen. Die Einteilung des Textes ist nicht immer übersichtlich. Die Fußnoten - leider in sehr kleinen Buchstaben - sind sehr nützlich, weil sie auf eine reiche, aktuelle, wissenschaftliche Literatur verweisen. Eine separate Bibliographie fehlt.

Marlies E.H. Kroll-Spronken

EMANUELE GRECO/MARIO LOMBARDO (eds.), *La Grande Iscrizione di Gortyna. Centoventi anni dopo la scoperta, Atti del Convegno, Atene-Haghii Deka 25-28 maggio 2004*. Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2005. 222 pp., figg., tav., tab.; 24 cm (Tripodes 4). – ISBN 960-87405-6-8.

Le 'Code de Gortyne' ou, comme les éditeurs du présent volume préfèrent la nommer 'la grande iscrizione di Gortyna', est probablement l'un des textes les plus commentés de la fin de l'archaïsme/début du classicisme grec. Il est aussi l'une des rares sources non-athéniennes concernant la production législative des cités de cette période. Ce document légal, daté entre 480 et 450 av. J.-C., est inscrit sur les parois d'un bâtiment rond qui fut démantelé et réemployé comme substruction de l'odéon romain. Avec plus de douze colonnes de cinquante-six lignes chacune, c'est probablement l'un des textes les plus longs de cette époque. C'est en tous cas un monument en lui-même. Après les riches commentaires des éditions de Willets, Guarducci ou Ruzé/van Effenterre, et une bibliographie générale ou spécialisée pléthorique, nous pouvions nous interroger sur la nécessité d'un groupe d'études supplémentaire. Tout n'avait-il pas été dit sur le célèbre Code?

La rencontre organisée par l'Ecole Italienne d'Athènes pour célébrer le 120ème anniversaire de la découverte de la pierre prouve au contraire que le temps était venu non seulement d'une mise au point sur les principaux acquis historiques de la recherche, mais encore d'une ouverture de celle-ci à de nouveaux questionnements et de nouveaux champs d'investigation. Les actes de cette rencontre rassemblent douze contributions, incluant notamment une remarquable conclusion de M. Lombardo. Huit de ces articles sont en italien, trois en anglais et un en grec moderne. La moitié de ces contributions concernent des problématiques qui seront familières à ceux qui ont fréquenté le texte de l'inscription de Gortyne.

Une première série d'interventions porte en effet sur les aspects politiques et judiciaires du Code. A. Maffi (*Gli studi giuridici nella seconda metà del '900*) offre un

bref résumé des pistes de recherche récentes dans les études sur les lois en Grèce ancienne, et bien entendu précise la place du Code de Gortyne parmi elles. F. Guizzi (‘*Partecipano tutti all’assemblea che però non ha alcun potere…’. La politica ai tempi della Grande Iscrizione di Gortyna*) fait le point sur la dimension politique du texte. Finalement, A. Chaniotis (*The Great Inscription, Its Political and Social Institutions and the Common Institutions of the Cretans*) se concentre quant à lui sur les institutions communautaires apparaissant dans le document, et créatrices d’un espace politique particulier dans la société.

La seconde série d’études concerne les dimensions économiques et patrimoniales du texte. A. Polosa (*Strumenti di valutazione nella Grande Legge di Gortyna*) étudie les modes d’évaluation des biens (mobiliers et immobiliers) dans l’économie gortynéenne, et en particulier le rôle de la monnaie frappée. J.K. Davies (*Gortyn within Cretan Economy*) montre comment la ville de Gortyne s’insère dans un réseau économique régional, et, par certains aspects, sans doute global. Quand à M. Youni (Οι περιουσιακές σκέσεις των συζήγων στο Δίκαιο τη Γόρτυνα), elle tente de comprendre les tenants et aboutissants patrimoniaux du Code.

Au-delà de ces problématiques traditionnelles, de nouveaux champs d’investigation apparaissent. Les femmes et les rapports de genre se présentent avec la contribution d’E. Cantarella (*La condizione femminile alla luce della Grande Iscrizione*) sur la condition féminine dans la société crétoise telle qu’elle apparaît à travers ces divers règlements. J. Whitley (*Before the Great Code: Public Inscriptions and Material Practice in Archaic Crete*) revient dans un domaine qu’il connaît bien, à savoir celui de l’usage de l’écrit en Crète archaïque. Son étude des modalités d’affichage législatif avant la ‘Grande iscrizione’ permet de replacer celle-ci dans un contexte général culturel qui fait souvent défaut. Mais l’article le plus novateur est sans doute celui de G. Marginesu (*La Grande Iscrizione e le problematiche topografiche connesse*) portant sur la topographie et la géographie crétoise telle que reflétées par le Code.

Finalement, deux contributions se focalisent plus spécifiquement sur l’inscription et le monument qui le porte. A.C. Cassio (*Il grande Codice di Gortyna: problemi di dialetto*) traite des aspects dialectaux du texte, et A. di Vita (*La Grande Iscrizione: dal monumento Greco all’Odeion romano*), ancien directeur de l’Ecole Italienne d’Athènes et à ce titre très au fait du site et de son organisation, s’attache à clarifier le contexte monumental du Code, depuis sa construction originelle jusqu’à son réemploi dans l’odéon romain.

Comme nous le voyons, cet ouvrage n’est ni une introduction à la lecture de l’inscription, ni une synthèse exhaustive qui prétendrait couvrir l’intégralité des sujets ayant attrait au Code de Gortyne. Mais, par la diversité des approches ainsi rassemblées, il offre un bon aperçu des thèmes les plus porteurs et, partant, de la richesse du document. Si l’on peut regretter l’absence d’un index (toujours commode), ou de cartes et de plans récents (A. di Vita fournit de bonnes photos de 2004, mais les plans datent des fouilles de 1996-1997), ou encore d’une proposition de restitution du monument originel, le fait est que ce volume permet de démontrer s’il en était besoin la vitalité des recherches sur ce fameux document. Nul doute que *La Grande Iscrizione di Gortyna. Centoventi anni dopo la scoperta* deviendra un ouvrage de référence pour qui s’intéresse au Code de Gortyne.

Olivier Mariaud

MARIE-CHRISTINE HELLMANN, *L’architecture grecque* 2. *Architecture religieuse et funéraire*. Paris: Éditions Picard, 2006. 356 p., 458 figs., 2 maps; 29 cm. – ISBN 2-7084-0763-5.

C’est un travail ambitieux auquel M.-Chr. Hellmann (ci-après H.) s’est attelée dans cette série de quatre volumes consacrés à l’architecture grecque antique. Le premier volume, publié en 2002, traitait des principes généraux de l’architecture. Les volumes suivants sont consacrés à l’architecture sacrée et funéraire (vol. 2), domestique et urbaine (vol. 3) et publique non-religieuse (vol. 4). Seul le volume 2 sera présenté ici, les volumes suivants n’étant pas encore parus.

Dans cet ouvrage, H., spécialiste reconnue du sujet (outre de nombreuses études personnelles, l’auteur est l’une des rédactrices du *Bulletin analytique de l’architecture du monde grec*, paraissant bi-annuellement dans la *Revue Archéologique*) s’attache à rassembler et rafraîchir nos connaissances sur l’architecture grecque, ce qui n’avait pas été fait, du moins en français, depuis le magistral *manuel d’architecture grecque* de R. Martin, publié il y a plus de quarante ans (la première édition date de 1965).

Bien sûr, depuis cette date, de nombreuses découvertes sont venues enrichir et modifier notre perception des dynamiques architecturales en Grèce ancienne, particulièrement pour les hautes périodes. A travers des choix pesés et bien documentés, H. parvient à intégrer efficacement ces nouvelles découvertes sans prétendre à l’exhaustivité.

L’ouvrage s’organise en deux parties, correspondant aux deux sujets principaux traités: première partie: l’architecture religieuse; seconde partie: l’architecture funéraire.

Les chapitres consacrés à l’architecture religieuse incluent évidemment l’étude des temples eux-mêmes (chap. 1-3), de leur ‘naissance’ (chap. 2) à leur ‘renaissance’ à l’époque romaine. Une mention spéciale doit être faite à la discussion sur les origines du temple grec, et notamment à la fameuse «théorie du mégaron». H. présente avec précaution les termes du débat, alternant les pours et les contres de chacune des positions. Il est cependant difficile de percevoir à quelle tendance H. accorde le plus de crédit. Le chap. 3 présente de manière chronologique l’évolution du temple grec, depuis l’époque archaïque jusqu’à la fin de la période hellénistique. Tout en reconnaissant la nécessité de cette approche, nous pouvons noter que celle-ci a pour conséquence de minimiser le poids des évolutions locales et régionales. De manière surprenante, l’auteur termine ce chapitre par l’étude des «trésors», qui ne sont pas proprement des temples puisqu’ils n’ont aucune fonction rituelle directe. H. n’ignore évidemment pas cet aspect des choses, mais, suivant une analyse de type formelle, elle est conduite à intégrer dans cette partie l’étude de ces bâtiments stylistiquement très proches des temples. Ces

trois premiers chapitres sont suivis par un quatrième portant sur les autels, et par trois autres (chap. 5-7) dédiés plus spécifiquement à l'organisation de l'espace sacré. H. définie d'abord ce qu'est un sanctuaire en Grèce ancienne (chap. 5), avant d'analyser sa structure spatiale (chap. 6), puis certains bâtiments (*stoai*, salles de banquet, monuments votifs ou encore aménagements hydrauliques; chap. 7) qui en constituent le paysage.

La seconde partie traite quant à elle de l'architecture funéraire. Il est évident qu'étudier le phénomène de la mort et de son traitement social par le seul angle de l'architecture revient, par définition, à limiter l'enquête. Nul reproche à l'auteur, pour qui le funéraire n'est pas le sujet principal. Peut-on pour autant affirmer, comme le fait H., que le monde grec, à de rares exceptions près, ne connaît pas de véritable nécropole, au sens plein et entier du terme, à savoir 'cité des morts'? L'aspect provocateur d'une telle affirmation n'aura pas échappé au lecteur. Elle risque cependant de fausser quelque peu les perspectives puisque ce n'est pas parce qu'aucune structure non périssable n'a été retrouvée, ou bien que la dispersion règne dans la distribution spatiale des sépultures, que l'espace funéraire est inorganique. Il semble que, lorsque l'analyse de l'architecture *stricto sensu* laisse place (et c'est heureux) à celle de l'organisation de l'espace, il est utile d'envisager le problème sous toutes ses facettes, et notamment celle des formes de structuration ayant laissé peu ou pas de traces archéologiques majeures. Le chap. 8, intitulé «Tombes de héros, tombes de grands hommes», traite en fait de tous les types de marqueurs de tombe, allant de l'hérôon monumental aux tumuli et aux simples colonnes et stèles funéraires. Le chap. 9 est consacré à l'organisation spatiale des nécropoles. L'ouvrage se termine alors abruptement, laissant sans doute les conclusions pour le dernier volume de la série.

Les annexes comprennent une courte bibliographie qui comprend les références minimales (principalement les publications de sites ainsi que les articles et les monographies indispensables sur le plan historiographique), un tableau chronologique (dans lequel la période protogéométrique (1050-900 av. J.-C.) disparaît dans une 'période géométrique' globale, ce qui n'est pas forcément judicieux compte tenu de la spécificité de plus en plus reconnue de cette période qui voit notamment la construction du grand édifice absidal de Lefkandi, mais c'est là un point de détail, ainsi que deux cartes et un index thématique.

La force principale de l'ouvrage réside dans la parfaite intégration au discours archéologique général des principaux enjeux intellectuels et historiographiques liés au matériel présenté. Tout au long des chapitres, nous voyons exposés de manière claire et précise les positions des uns et des autres, notamment concernant les questions les plus débattues comme par exemple celui suscité de Lefkandi. H. adopte alors le 'plus petit dénominateur commun' en nommant prudemment le bâtiment 'grand édifice' (p. 35) ou 'long édifice absidal' (p. 47) avant de présenter l'hypothèse de la fonction d'hérôon, qui ne semble pas recueillir les faveurs de l'auteur. Cette grande probité permet de poser clairement chaque problématique, au lecteur ensuite de poursuivre son investigation par la bibliographie fournie en vis-à-vis. Enfin, il faut souligner le très haut niveau de qualité dans le choix des illustrations, nombreuses et variées, le plus souvent basées sur les dernières publications disponibles, et qui font de ce volume non seulement un ouvrage plaisant à lire et consulter, mais également une mine de document en vue de la préparation de cours et de séminaires.

Ces qualités font de cet ouvrage et de l'ensemble de la série une référence indispensable dans les études sur l'architecture grecque.

Olivier Mariaud

STEPHAN T.A.M. MOLS/ERIC M. MOORMANN (eds.), *Omni pede stare. Saggi architettonici e circumvesuviani in memoriam Jos de Waele*. Napoli: Electa, 2005, 324 pp., num. drawings and b/w photographs; 28 cm (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 9). – ISBN 88-510-0265-7

Colleagues, friends and pupils wanted to dedicate a Festschrift to Prof. Jos de Waele (University of Nijmegen) on the occasion of his 65th birthday in 2003. Unfortunately, he died, together with two students, in a tragic car incident in 2001. The book had to be converted into a posthumous tribute. It is a splendidly edited and illustrated collection of fascinating archaeological articles, written in Italian, English, German and French. Some papers are rather technical and specialist but nevertheless readable.

As introduction Roger J.A. Wilson gives an intriguing image of De Waele's scientific output (ca 135 publications), showing an energetic and prolific archaeologist, teacher, team leader and player and last but not least a warm personality, a real father for his students (cf. St. Mols, *BABesch* 77, 2002, VII-IX).

The first part of the book offers essays on ancient architecture. E.F. Bloedow reconstructs Cimon's career, cultural initiatives, visible in sixteen architectural initiatives. H. Eiteljorg deals with the Attic foot as the basic unit in the Propylaea at Athens, explaining the methodical difficulties of reconstructing ancient measurements. A. Trevor Hodge reappraises bosses: they may have been left as decoration. B. Wesenberg discusses the design of diameters of Ionic columns. H. Fahlbusch casts light upon the water system at ancient Priene, O. Belvedere and E. Termine on the urbanization of the north-east coast of Sicily (ca 400-350 BC) and the urban structure of Tindari, M. Bell III on bankers' houses in Soluntum and Agrigentum and D. Yntema on the architecture of pre-Roman southern Italy in the 1st millennium BC, questioning the idea of opposition between a well-ordered cosmos of the Greek polis and the chaotic layout of native settlements. G. Colonna proposes a new chronology of the Mater Matuta temples at Satricum, dating temple II between ca 530 and 520, temple III between ca 490-480 BC (contra: M. Maaskant-Kleibrink), whilst P. S. Lulof and R. Knoop enlighten the decorative program of the Campanian roof and pediment of temple I (ca 550-525). R. J.A. Wilson makes a very important contribution to the much debated origin of the Roman civic basilica, suggesting Egyptian influences. His hypothesis is based on literary sources. N. de Haan shows the influence of furnaces upon the

genesis of hypocausts, from the 3rd century BC onwards. J.H. Brouwers analyzes Propertius' *Elegy* 2.31 in relation to the Apollo temple and porticus Phoebi at Rome. V.M. Strocka explains the meaning and influence of façade motif of the Venus Genetrix temple on the Forum of Caesar at Rome. E. De Miro deals with the Roman temple in the Forum area at Agrigento. P. Gros analyzes Flavius' *Ant. Jud*. 15.413-417 in relation to the basilica of Herodes at Jerusalem. K. Greve informs us about the oldest big tunnel in history, the Hiskia-tunnel at Jerusalem, a success story.

The second part of the In Memoriam is called *Circumvesuviana*. L.A. Scatozza Hoericht deals with a terracotta from the Foro triangolare at Pompeii. K. Peterse and J. de Waele present the standardized design of the Casa degli Scienzati (VI 14, 43) at Pompeii. R.E.L.B. de Kind reconstructs the building history of insula V at Herculaneum. P.G.P. Meyboom and H.J. Brouwer interpret mosaics representing the motif of a hunting cat, which may be of Egyptian origin. S.T.A.M. Mols looks for the roots, antecedents and re-use of the First Style wall-paintings. E. Simon presents two 'trapezophoroi' in griffin form. A. van Hooff reads the Spartaks fresco at Pompeii without red eyes, holding that it does not represents *the* Spartacus but *a* Spartacus. W. Ehrhardt enlightens the history of the 'Rhodian peristyle' using as starting point peristyle r of the Casa delle Nozze d'argento at Pompeii. R. Ling deals with street fountains at Pompeii, showing that house fronts were adjusted, generally without expropriation. G. Jansen comments on water and water technology in the Pompeian garden. C. Ohlig, dealing with the *castellum aquae* at Pompeii, shows the practical value of metrological reflection. H.P. Kessener reflects on the Pompeian *castellum divisorium*. L. de Blois analyzes an inscription mentioning Titus Suedius Clemens in relation to Pompeian *loca publica*. A. Varrone presents the reconstruction of Pompeii after the earthquake of AD 62 in the light of new discoveries. T. Asaka and V. Iorio comment exotic artifacts showing the contacts between India and the Vesuvian area. P.G. Guzzo presents a ring of Charles of Bourbon, king of Naples and Sicily. Finally, E.M. Moormann analyzes the sense of time in early studies on Pompeii, showing that even old, unmethodical but interpretive publications can be worthwhile.

The authors *omni pede stant*: they are for all waters, as was De Waele himself.

The book ends with a list of the (e-mail-)addresses of all contributors.

L.B. van der Meer

RICHARD NEUDECKER/PAUL ZANKER (eds.), *Lebenswelten. Bilder und Räume in der römischen Stadt der Kaiserzeit. Symposium am 24. und 25. Januar 2002 zum Abschluss des von der Gerda Henkel Stiftung geförderten Forschungsprogramms «Stadtkultur in der römischen Kaiserzeit»*. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2005. 251 pp., figs.; 29 cm (Palilia, 16). – ISBN 3-89500-515-0.

This book, a collection of well illustrated symposium papers, casts light upon aspects of Roman urban culture in the imperial period. It was the scope of a research program sponsored by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. The synthetic, excellently written introduction by R. Neudecker and P. Zanker shows their preference for global themes, 'thick descriptions', worrying about the current trend of too specialist, dehumanized studies without general picture. Cassius Dio 56.5.3 stated already: 'only people make a city, and not houses, portico's and market places without people.' The book aims at a reconstruction of ancient mentality, norms and values and city culture in all segments of Roman urban societies not only by using or combining archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence in the good, old tradition of the *Altertumswissenschaft*, but also by paying attention to the modern attainments of cultural anthropology, communication- and literature sciences: cities, houses, decorations should be read as texts. Ritual forms of festivities, *cenae* or *convivia* on different levels (in *scholae*, houses, bath buildings), corporate activities (of 'guilds' and military groups), amusement (commerce near temples), and joy of living are judged to be the main characteristics of city culture. The boundaries between public and private were often permeable: e.g. the *plebs* could, at least partly, watch ritual acts of superior classes.

The papers are not arranged to images and spaces as the title suggests but the other way round. Here follows a short indication of the contents. The first articles are about the use and sometimes propagandistic manipulating of space. D. Palombi deals with the historical landscape and the landscape of memory in the area of the Imperial Fora at Rome, from ca 210 BC onwards, in other words the creation of historical/mythical places for ideological reasons: the public should remember its past (Tarpeia, Sabine women etc.), as is testified by Augustan poets. In a similar vein V. Kockel demonstrates that old statues were inserted in the face-lifted Forum at Pompeii during Augustus. A. Grüner enlightens how ruins were handled without romanticism, (by Claudius, Nero, Vespasian) at Rome, at Pompeii and Herculaneum: *utilitas* and *pulchritudo* were preferred to *deformitas*. The phenomenon of modern war memorials, like the Gedächtniskirche at Berlin, did not exist. D. Steuernagel defines the public and private aspects of corporate rituals at Ostia, especially in the so called Piazzale delle Corporazioni. R. Neudecker gives a fascinating overview of commercial activities on sacred places at Rome, showing that luxurious goods were sold at the Forum, and cheaper stuff elsewhere. A. Busch shows the character of different military cemeteries around Rome: the grave stones reflect the status of each group. M. Heinzelmann deals with Ostia as a 'let city', more generally with the commercializing and standardizing of house culture. He gives a nice picture of the development from *domus* to *insula* in and after the Flavian period, from *insula* to *domus* in the 3rd century and the vertical social use of *insulae* (fig. 9a (Domus Fulminata) on p. 123 is not correct, as there are not walls half-way down the later *tabernae*). F. Pirson presents a detailed picture of the architectural development of the Casa dei Postumii and its *insula* at Pompeii, showing the growing commercialization. P. Kastenmeier shows that the kitchen on the middle floor of the Suburban Baths at Pompeii may have been used for incidental *convivia* of lower classes. M. Galli reconstructs

the forming of a city culture in the Roman colony of Ariminum (Rimini), by analyzing its domestic ceramic. The remaining papers show the power of images. E. Stein-Hölkeskamp discusses the role of women in Roman banquets, using literary evidence. Her conclusion is that the 'self-styling' of men always remained dominant. J.-A. Dickmann shows that mythical representations at Pompeii were manipulated (e.g. showing Admetus as feminized man) and that erotic scenes, popular in the Neronian period, were intended for eager male eyes. K. Lorentz takes the combination of Pompeian mythical representations as starting point for a phenomenology of ancient observation. Evidently, there was much room for subjective, associative interpretation. S. Muth shows the 'iconophily' in the late ancient house, underlining the hierarchical relation between mosaics and rooms in the Villa of Piazza Armerina. Finally P. Zanker comments, using statistics, the diachronic change in the choice of mythological images on sarcophagi from Rome, showing that 2nd century AD mythical narrative reliefs testify of joy in living, those of the third century, however, non-mythological themes (the good shepherd, philosophers, etc.), probably as result of a general crisis. It seems to me that the impact of religion and philopsophy, e.g. neoplatonism, is underexposed. All in all, the papers give a fascinating picture of some aspects of *urbanitas*. Obviously, the city is the best key to cultural analysis. Maybe, focusing on one city in one period would have provided a more coherent picture, as the city populations Rome, Pompeii, Ostia, Ariminum, were mainly Roman but not identical.

L.B. van der Meer

WOLFGANG RADT (ed.), *Stadtgrabungen und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien. Geplantes und Erreichtes* (Internationales Symposion 6./7. August 2004 in Bergama (Türkei)). Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2006. 398 pp., figs.; 27.5 cm (Byzas 3). – ISBN 975-807-124-6.

This book contains the 29 papers of an international symposium dedicated to excavations in cities and urban research in the western part of Asia Minor and organized at Bergama at the occasion of festivities in honor of 175 years of existence of the German Archaeological Institute, of the 75 years of existence of its institute at Istanbul, the 125th anniversary of the Pergamon excavations, the protecting building of Building Z at Pergamon, and the more than 30 year lasting research by W. Radt at Pergamon.

The papers are written by team leaders from Turkey, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, the UK and the USA, and presented in alphabetical order: Aizanoi, Alexandria Troas, Allianoi, Aphrodisias, Blaundos, Daskylaion, Didyma, Ephesos, Herakleia, Hierapolis of Phrygia, Iasos, Ilion, Kaunos, Knidos, Limyra, Loryma, Lycia (Tyberissos, Phellos, Antiphellos), Magnesia, Metropolis, Miletus, Patara, Pergamon, Perge, Phokaia, Priene, Sagalassos, Sardis, Old Smyrna and Troia. They are not all structured in the same way. Generally the history of excavations, soundings and surveys and especially the results of urban research during the last decades are dealt with, sometimes as year reports, work in progress, preservation and restoration activities and the possibilities for future research in or around a city are listed. The papers are written in German, English and Italian, all with Turkish summaries. Usually a picture of the structure and development of a city is sketched, from its roots, sometimes reaching back to a settlement of the 5th millennium BC, until the Byzantine or later periods, sometimes even until the 20th century. Obviously, original excavation or survey strategies often had to be adapted (called M. Korfmann's concept of 'dream and reality'), sometimes with positive results (p. 176, 288, 345). It is clear that in some cases the research is interdisciplinary: modern techniques (satellite images, GPS, GIS, geophysical (pp. 39, 77, 98, 194, 260-261) and surface surveys, 14C-, geological, geomorphological, mineralogical, archaeozoological, anthropological, microbotanical methods) were used. The best example is the research done by M. Waelkens *cum suis* (Leuven) at Sagalassos (pp. 325-358), which inspired and will inspire researchers in other ancient cities.

The papers have a rather factual character, dealing with agoras, temples, theatres, streets, gates, mosaics, inscriptions, etc., with restoration-, anastilosis- and protective activities, and indicating how a site has been or can be opened for tourists, a goal which is obviously promoted by the Turkey's Ministry of Culture.

Urban research, as is well known, is fraught with difficulties: ground water, smuggling, vandalism, bureaucracy, lack of finances or sponsors, land reclamation, mass tourism, etc. The city of Allianoi may even perish in water because of a planned barrage (p. 34). The scholars who sometimes worked for decades on the same spot should deserve our deep admiration for their tenacity. In addition, a very positive point is that urban research has generated many topics for theses and dissertations, although many have not been published (see e.g. pp. 70-71).

In the introduction the papers are announced as a 'comparative summary.' Summaries they are but the results are not compared. There is a common feeling, however, that the excavations and restoration techniques have a similar style. Discussions have not been included. A general evaluation or synthesis is missing too. This is a pity as it would be worthwhile to see the impact of e.g. the Achaemenid satraps, Alexander the Great, Lysimachus, Augustus, Traian, Hadrian, Justinian, etc. and more generally the impact of *synoikismos*, genesis, founding and refounding, hellenization, romanization, christianization or byzantinization, abandonments, earthquakes etc. on townscapes.

As an index is missing, the reader has to make his own comparisons, deductions and conclusions.

An interesting point is that some excavators include or intend to include also the surrounding region (by surveys) in their research in order to reconstruct the economy and subsistence of a city (pp. 46, 59, 196, 346-349; 385-388).

Generally the papers are well illustrated; in some cases, however, good city maps are missing. A general map showing all the cities is also missing. It is not only city plans, monuments and artifacts that are presented. Some authors pay attention to the religious or ideological dimensions of urban research which brings in

the people who once inhabited or visited cities (see C.B. Rose's paper on Ilion, pp. 135-158; further p. 275).

For anyone who is interested in changing townscapes and urban territories, this book is a must: not for theoretical but for practical and methodical reasons.

L.B. van der Meer

MARIA BONGHI JOVINO, *Tarquinia e le civiltà del Mediterraneo (Convegno internazionale, Milano, 22-24 giugno 2004)*. Milano: Cisalpino 2006, 432 pp., ill.; 24 cm (Quaderni di Acme 77). – ISBN 88-323-6046-2.

As the themes of an international colloquium, which took place in 2004, are loosely connected, I present the summaries or titles of the well edited papers not by their contents but according to their coherence.

After some general introductions regarding Tarquinia (the excavations are now on the Unesco list and possibly about to become a *parco archeologico*) and the Mediterranean world D. Ridgway offers, not for the first time, his reflections on Tarquinia, Demaratos and the 'Hellenization of the barbarians'. According to him, Demaratos (which means 'desired by the people') never existed. Whatever artistic Greek influences appeared in 7th century BC Etruria, they merged with pre-existent local substrata. L. Cerchiai deals with a related theme, that of the *artifices/fictores* of Demaratos: three men with telling names, Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammos, mentioned by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia* 35.152. The account of a Greek background for the origins of *koroplastikè* would be a later Roman pro-Hellenic, anti-Etruscan invention.

G. Bartoloni deals with the remarkable urban development in Etruria around 900 BC, the period of transition from the Final Bronze to the Iron Age (focusing on Tarquinia and Veio). Her paper informs us about recent, astonishing finds at Veio (see below). M. Cataldi deals with a 'Euboic' cup from the necropolis of Poggio della Sorgente near Tarquinia, drawing attention to the influence of Greek *symposia* rituals around 800 BC. In a similar vein, B. d'Agostino centers on the presence of the first Greeks in Etruria around 760 BC.

A. Rathje tries to explain the meaning of the famous Tarquinian bronze votive deposit dated to ca 700-675 BC. The deposit was retrieved in area C3, buried in *fossa* 248A, at the entrance of a public, administrative and/or sacred building *bèta* on the Civita of Tarquinia. Amongst the finds discussed are a miniature axe, a shield and a *lituus* (a 1.35 m long trumpet which was bent in order to prevent re-use). After having discussed the interpretations of M. Bonghi Jovino (royal symbols), M. Torelli (*spolia opima*), G. Colonna (political symbols), Carandini (royal talismans), and E. Tassi Scandone (*securi percussio*), Rathje concludes that the *lituus* and shield (which were never used) did not have a military function, and that the miniature axe refers to a sacrificial context; Rathje does not really explain the meaning of this remarkable deposit but suggests that a priest king could have dedicated the bronzes (cf. Bonghi Jovino's reaction on pp. 409-410). What escaped to the attention of all evaluators in my view is that the sound of an Etruscan trumpet could announce a new generation and a new era (cf. Plutarchus, *Sulla* 7.7). Although the source is late, it may indicate that the trumpet was not only used during wars (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 5.40) but also in rites of passage, e.g. during the founding of political sacred buildings. The function of the trumpet may have a Semitic origin. Several texts in the *Bible* show that horn (*shofar*) or trumpet, played an import part at crucial occasions (e.g. during the New Year ceremony, the Fall of Jericho). If my comparison is correct, the trumpet may relate to a priest rather than to a king. Anyhow, D. Ciafaloni proves that oriental influences are visible in the architecture of building *bèta*. Its walls have typical pilasters (*murs à piliers*) which show Phoenician influences from the Syro-Palestine area. Interestingly, the Phoenician temple B in Kommos on Crete shows the dedication of a bronze shield on a stone support in its cella (p. 158, fig. 10). It may be an antecedent or comparandum for the shield votive in front of building *bèta*. S. Stopponi shows that this pilaster system had a wide, long lasting success, also in central Etruria, e.g. in the Cannicella necropolis of Orvieto.

F.R. Serra Ridgway analyzes the ceramics recovered from building *bèta* (8th-6th centuries BC).

M. Gnade provides a comparison between ritual (?) practices at Tarquinia (deposit in area *gamma*) and Satricum (votive deposit II). However, the latter should be considered a dump rather than a sacred votive deposit. Concerning the first deposit, G. Bagnasco Gianni disagrees with her, in view of the botanic remains which point to ritual rather than everyday life practices. N.A. Winter comments on the Tarquinian architectural terracottas, pointing out the successive influences from Asia Minor and Campania in the second half of the 6th century BC.

F. Prayon deals with a type of Tarquinian architectural slabs, dated to ca 500 BC. They were found in a public or sacred building at Castellina del Marangone, a small settlement (7th-3rd centuries BC) between Cerveteri and Tarquinia and show the Bulls of Geryon. J. Gran-Aymerich considers the coastal boundaries between Tarquinia and Caere, suggesting that Castellina may have had a function comparable with that of Murlo and Roselle.

G. Colonna presents a *phiale* of the Etrusco-Corinthian painter of the *Ciclo dei Rosoni* at Veio with an inscription (exceptional in this ceramic category) mentioning the maker: Velthur Ancines (ca 560 BC).

St. Steingräber delivers a short essay on the relation between tomb paintings at Tarquinia and similar phenomena in the Mediterranean world from the late classical period to the early Hellenistic age (Apulia, Paestum, Capua, Naples, etc), while reminding us that some painted tombs at Tarquinia still await a monograph.

There are also interesting papers on technicalia. S. Bruni presents a study on ceramic chemical analyses and S. Pero an integrated research of ancient Tarquinia, especially of the *Ara della Regina* temple, carried out at high resolution (D-GPS, laser scanner 3D, Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR), georadar 2004). M. Torelli studies Roman copies of two Greek portraits (of thinkers), a coastal villa and the littoral of Gravisca. He shows that the Etruscan harbour of Tarquinia, not far from the famous sanctuary, was near a lagoon.

In the summary Bonghi Jovino offers much to reflect upon, poses numerous questions and proposes a good choice of interpretive possibilities. However, no definitive answer to the many Tarquinian problems, especially centering around buildings *alpha*, *bèta* and *gamma* and the continuing inhumations of children (one of whom was epileptic) and adults in and just outside area *alpha* between ca 800 and 550 BC. There are certainly indications of human sacrifice. It is not yet clear whether the burials can be compared with a recently discovered, unusually N.W.-S.E. oriented *fossa* tomb in Piazza d'Armi at Veii (p. 57, 72 fig. 10). The tomb, covered by a hut as a sort of memory chapel, was supposed to belong to a hero or city founder (or to someone struck by a thunderbolt, as recently suggested by M. Torelli).

These papers will stimulate further debates. The excavations at Tarquinia, organized by Bonghi Jovino from 1982 onwards (now known from the three impressive *opera magna* '*Tarchna* I-III'), testify to exemplary research in classical archaeology. At the same time they clearly show how difficult it is to interpret pre- and protohistorical finds. Maybe, the use of cross-cultural comparisons (*ex oriente lux* approaches) and literary sources can solve some problems. The genesis of Etruscan cities and the investigation of the Etruscan orientalising culture will remain two exciting topics of study.

L.B. van der Meer

IRENE BRATTI, *Forma Urbis Perusiae*. Città di Castello (Pg): Edimond srl, 2007. 269 pp, 2 folding maps (tav. I-IV); 28 cm (Auleste. Studi di Archeologia di Perugia e dell'Umbria antica I). – ISBN 88-500-0329-3.

This is the first volume of a new series, *Auleste*, fruit of a recent, better cooperation between the Province of Perugia and the Department of Classical Archaeology of the Università degli Studi of Perugia, in other words between Soprintendenza, Museum and University. It is an important initiative as until now no really scientific, archaeological-topographical book has been published on the famous Etruscan city Perugia. After a preface by Pier Luigi Neri, Assessor of cultural Politics of the Province, and a presentation by Mario Torelli the author presents in Chapter 1 the history of Perugia studies, from Cosimo de' Medici in 1541 onwards until 2004, when the Soprintendenza and the Museum both got a new director, Mariarosaria Salvatore and Luana Cenciaioli (both with a fresh, open minded spirit). In Chapter 2 the urban history of Perugia is sketched, from the protohistory to ca AD 600. It seems that it became a city rather late, in the second half of the 6th century BC. Chapter 3 (pp. 37-247) is the most important part: it lists monuments and finds in and outside the ancient city. In the conclusions the urban history is shortly reiterated (partly overlapping Chapter 2). Finally, indexes of filing cards, places and themes, abbreviations and bibliography follow. Indexes and concordances of Etruscan and Latin inscriptions are lacking. In the text there are no illustrations, but four large maps (tav. I-IV) show the find-spots, unfortunately with numbers which do not correspond with the catalogue number.

The author has used the filing cards of several archives of the Soprintendenza and many less official reports. Many cards (in fact often day reports of small scale excavations and soundings from 1841 until 2004) have been quoted litterally. Cards 1 – 1t (= nos 1-29 on Map, Tavola 1) lists the remains of the 3 km long Etruscan travertine city walls and gates. Formerly they were dated at the end of the 4th century BC. Torelli now dates them to the first decades of the 2nd century BC (p. 38, 251), the start of a booming economy, a time of rich farmers on the many fertile hills around Perugia as is testified by monumental *hypogaea*, the *Tomba di San Manno*, *Tomba dei Volumni*, and *Tomba dei Cutu* (Torelli's arguments will be published in the forthcoming *Atti del XXV Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici*, Chiusi 2005). The finds in the city, though some are found just outside the Etruscan walls (cards 2-48; map, tav. II, where they are listed according to pavements, *domus*, streets, temples, walls etc.), concerns inscriptions (often not published in the *CIL*), remains of streets, temples, an amphitheatre, gymnasium, baths and other buildings, mosaics, cisterns, pits and wells (Perugia never had an aqueduct), etc. The extra-urban finds (cards 49-118; as for find-spots see maps II and IV with different numbers, not map III (wrong reference on p. 94)) mainly refer to necropoles, tombs, their urns with Etruscan or Latin inscriptions, mirrors and other bronzes, vases, glass, etc. in an area of ca 1 to 4 kms around Perugia, far smaller than the real urban territory which reached until the Trasimene Lake and until the Tiber. Filing card 71 (pp. 144-159) very succinctly lists the contents of the famous *Tomba dei Cutu*, more extensively published, but not completely illustrated, by A.E. Feruglio in the *Annali Faina* 9 (2002) 475-495, now visible in a splendid reconstruction under the Museum. The tomb deserves a well ilustrated monograph. The same holds good for the numerous *kottaboi* (pp. 149, 158, 162, 170, 212, 218, 232, 234, 238, 241; more present at Perugia than elsewhere in Etruria). They testify to an old aristocratic symposium game still practiced in the last centuries BC! Map III clearly shows that Etruscan Perugia had a *cardo* corresponding with the actual Corso Vannuci and a *decumanus* (the present Via dei Priori and Via Fani). Remains of temples and sacred places have been found near the Cathedral, in Piazza Cavallotti and near the Viale Indipendenza, and maybe at Monteluce (pp. 179, 250-251). Probably there have been an altar of Silvanus and a sacred area called Tlennasis, dedicated to the equivalent of the Etruscan deity *tlenac(h)e*), just outside the *Arco Etrusco* (so-called Arch of Augustus, pp. 55-56). In the same area, near Via Pascoli, there must have been an *aedes* of Aeracura (an underworld Iuno; p. 109, n. 381, map II, no 54). It may be the place from where Octavianus and Lepidus transported the statue of the Etruscan goddess Uni to Rome after an *evocatio* at the end of the cruel *bellum perusinum* in 41 BC. Furthermore, *luci* (sacred woods, p. 35) have existed just outside the city walls, e.g. on the hill of the round Byzantine Church of S. Angelo, *CIL* XI, 1941, not mentioned by Bratti.

It is a pity that the inventory numbers of the countless objects, now in the Museum, are lacking (except for finds in the *Tomba dei Cutu*). Bratti's book and maps are useful, though not organized in the most efficient way. The bibliography is almost complete and up to date.

Many excellent specialistic studies on Etruscan Perugia have been published in the *Annali Faina* 9 (2002). Badly needed now is a well illustrated monumental monograph that deals in a modern way with Perugia's material culture from the Final Bronze Age until late antiquity, including the whole *ager perusinus*.

L.B. van der Meer

CARLO PAVOLINI, *Ostia*. Roma/Bari: Editori Laterza. 2006 (nuova edizione riveduta e aggiornata). 339 pp., numerous maps and drawings; 22.3 cm (Guide Archeologiche Laterza 11). – ISBN 88-420-7784-4.

Pavolini's long since outdated 1983 publication (with an identical reprint in 1989) is now replaced by a new handy, well written, and revised guide to Ostia, thanks to many recent publications by members of the *Soprintendenza*, and a growing number of research teams and individuals. The text is divided according to itineraries. It deals with the Via Ostiense (Ficana, Dragoncello and the Borgo of Ostia Antica), with Ostia itself (split up into 6 itineraries, illustrated by 11 maps), the territory to the south of Ostia (necropolis of the Via Laurentina, Pianabella, the villa at Palombara and Castel Porziano), Isola Sacra (the necropolis and the left bank of the Fiumicino canal), Portus (the harbours of Claudius and Trajan), and short chapters about building techniques, houses, production, commerce and chronology. In addition, a new thematical bibliography, a glossary and an index of places follow.

The book is destined for a broad educated public. It is also informative and stimulating for archaeologists and historians as it mentions, in a nutshell, many new facts, finds, uncertainties and unsolved problems. One quandary, for example, concerns Ostia's emergence as a city with an autonomous government. A votive base, recently discovered at Dragoncello, dated between ca 130 and 100 BC, mentions two *praetores ostienses*. This may imply that the famous travertine boundary stones of the *ager publicus* which mention a *praetor urbanus* Caninius (a *praetor* from Rome), now must date to just earlier than 130 BC (in which case they are the oldest inscriptions *in situ*!) and that Ostia became independent from Rome much earlier than previously surmised (pp. 13, 23, 49). The first *duoviri* may have been appointed after the Social War or, in my opinion, in 63 BC when the city wall and gates, during Cicero's consulship (not in Sulla's time as thought before) were made (pp. 24, 49). Recent French research demonstrates that the terminal cistern of the aqueduct has been constructed between AD 90 and 100, which nicely coincides appropriately with the presumed date of the restoration of the *Porta Romana* (pp. 50-52, 60). The statue of Minerva, near the *Porta* would not date from this time but would be late republican (suggested by H. von Hesberg; p. 53). Pavolini questions the function of the Curia (although it was identified as such by J. Balty; pp. 104, 225). He suggests that the Temple of Roma and Augustus would already have been built during the life of the emperor (p. 106). The function and date of the Christian room in the Baths of Mithras are questioned (p. 126). The function of the *Palazzo Imperiale* is now interpreted by J. Spurza as a multifunctional building (pp. 128-130 with a new map!). Also mentioned is M. Heinzelmann's exciting identification of the temple of the Dioscures and its *navalia* (p. 131) dated to the period of Tiberius or Claudius, near the ancient mouth of the Tiber. Brothels have not been identified at Ostia. However, the *statio cunnilingiorum* shows that prostitution took place in baths, in this case in the Bath of Trinacria (p. 136). The so-called *Basilica cristiana* is now interpreted as a *domus* of Tigrianiani, members of a Christian sect (pp. 147-149). Furthermore, there is a description of the *fullonica* behind the Temple of the *Fabri Navales*, explored by a Belgian team (p. 150). Not yet established is the function of the Building of the *Opus Sectile*, built ca AD 385. Was it Christian or pagan (pp. 177-178)? Pavolini dates the synagogue to around AD 50, but L.M. White dates it at ca AD 100 (pp. 182-184). The function of the suburban Forum of *Porta Marina* remains a conundrum. Is this the suburban sanctuary of Vulcanus (p. 186)? Half of the fragments of the *Fasti Ostienses* have been found there (the other half mainly in the *Domus del Tempio Rotondo*). New excavations may be necessary. Additionally, consideration is given to the republican buildings under the *Schola del Traiano*, excavated by a Swiss team (p. 191). The function of the *macellum* is now questioned by V. Kockel (p. 195) but no better solution is afforded. Not resolved yet is the question whether the *Domus delle Pesci* is Christian (p. 203). It seems that the Cybele cult in the *Campus Magnae Matris* started in the period of Claudius (p. 208). Pavolini now interprets the so-called *Sede* or *Schola degli Augustali* merely as a *domus*. Fascinating is the identification of the Constantine *Basilica* of Petrus and Paulus mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis* (p. 239). The texts concerning *Isola Sacra* and *Portus* are thoroughly updated in light of recent excavations, surveys and research.

The *Forum Ostiense* made by Aurelianus (p. 26) and the sanctuaries or temples of Vulcanus (p. 70, 102) are not yet found or identified. A long marble frieze showing myths of this deity (now in the *Museo Ostiense*) may demonstrate that the small temple in the *palaestra* of the Central Baths was dedicated to him (p. 94, 110). Of several temples (a.o. the temple on the *Piazza delle Corporazioni*) it is not known to which deity they were dedicated (p. 70).

There are some minor flaws. The date of the *Quattro Tempietti* (ca 63 BC, suggested by F. Zevi) may be too conservative (according to J. DeLaine, oral information about her work in progress). The *camillus* in the famous *haruspexs* relief (p. 120), found in or near the Hercules temple, is in fact a *puer* (cf. the *modus operandi* in the Fortuna sanctuary at Praeneste).

An English translation of Pavolini's guide is now required for the tens of thousands who visit the *amoenissima civitas* every year, who do not read Italian.

L.B. van der Meer

DOMINIQUE COLLON, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. London: The British Museum Press, 2005[2]. 208 pp., many line drawings and bl./w. photographs; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-0-7141-1136-0.

After having been out of print for a long time, this very useful guide to Ancient Near Eastern Glyptics by one of the world's specialists has at last been reprinted. When it first appeared in 1987 (paperback in 1993) it constituted the best popular introduction to cylinder seals, and it has not lost that position. The bibliography, some annotations and chapter 10 on the manufacture of seals have been partly revised, but the overall pagination of the book has remained unchanged.

The book is organized in three parts: history, use in society and motifs. Part one treats the diacritical cutting styles and motifs from period to period, following the traditional classification originated by the 'Father of Sphragistics', the Dutch archaeologist Henri Frankfort. The author includes the surrounding areas in her discussion per period, i.e. she discusses the cultural contacts between Mesopotamia and such areas as Iran, Anatolia, Syria and Palestine. This section facilitates a quick overview of the most relevant categories through its easy and readable style; for a popular book like this the utilized dating system is, understandably, the so-called Middle Chronology (Hammurapi 1792-1750 BC), although it is coming under heavy fire nowadays. The historical section concludes with the Hellenistic period, when cylinder seals went out of fashion. Part two discusses Cylinder Seals in Society (both theirs and ours). Their manufacture, the use of inscriptions, how they were worn and used, etc. Part three on the Subjects and Themes depicted on seals is a handy introduction to (chiefly) Mesopotamian iconography in general.

The book has been produced well, and the many and representative illustrations are of quite sufficient quality for the purpose at hand.

It is especially through cylinder seals that we have come to know Mesopotamian iconography. D. Collon has contributed many specialized studies to that subject, based on her work as a conservator at the British Museum, and this book is, although meant for a more general public, an extremely good introduction to the subject for specialists in neighboring fields as well. It guides one to further studies on the subject in an informative way, without hindering the reader with too much specialized background discussion. One may say that no one interested in the iconography and iconology of the Ancient Near East in general can do without her *First Impressions*.

Diederik J.W. Meijer

WOLFRAM MARTINI, *Das Pantheon Hadrians in Rom. Das Bauwerk und seine Deutung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006 (= Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Band XLVI 1). 47 pp., 20 figs. – ISBN 3-515-08859-8.

The text under discussion is the written version of a 2005 lecture for the *Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*. The author wonders what Hadrian intended when constructing the Pantheon, and what he was referring to in doing so. Martini wants to interpret the Pantheon not as a temple, but as some sort of throne room through which the emperor could be portrayed as ruler of the whole world. With its precious marble decoration stemming from all parts of the realm, the Pantheon becomes an innovative 'Abbild des römischen Kosmos'. The notion that the Pantheon is not a temple has been put forward before (e.g. A. Ziolkowski, s.v. Pantheon in *LTUR* IV 1999, 54-61). The innovative aspect of the use of marble in the Pantheon as a reflection of the Roman world has also been suggested previously, by M. Wilson Jones (*Principles of Roman Architecture*, New Haven/London^2 2003, 211). Of this book Ch. IX (*The enigma of the Pantheon: the interior*) and X (*The enigma of the Pantheon: the exterior*), pp. 177-213, enter into interesting aspects of the building. Unfortunately, they have not been used in Martini's essay.

Martini's text is divided into five sections. In the first one (*Methodische Aspekte*) he describes the Pantheon as a creation of Hadrian personally. A possible role by Apollodorus of Damascus is ignored. In section 2 (*Die Wirkungsgeschichte*) Martini discusses especially the influence which the Pantheon has had on later buildings, as well as the later history of the building itself. He recognises in the Pantheon citations of other buildings, and wonders what Hadrian intended these for. To properly map these citations, Martini uses section 3 (*Der Außenbau*) to reconstruct the original exterior of the building in its context. He argues that the rotunda would have been hard to see from the square in front of the building. In fact, he states, the small square with the front hall of the Pantheon strongly refers to Augustus' Forum, since the front hall and the front of the temple of Mars Ultor had approximately the same width. Martini then suggests that Hadrian deliberately abstained from military symbols, which gives rise to the question if in that way the citation would still have been recognised. The same question applies to the parallel to the *Ara Pacis*, which Martini spots in the relief decoration. After all, the depictions of candelabra and garlands in the front hall of the Pantheon are only a fraction of the decorations of the building as a whole. One wonders if they could be seen as a citation of a building which was almost wholly furnished with reliefs. The relation with the Augustan notions of *pietas* and *pax* that, according to Martini, the citations referred to, were not presented in this way. Nor did they need to do so. The inscription on the front façade made implicit citations superfluous. The relation with Augustan policies was made explicitly evident, strengthened by the statue of Augustus that was placed in the front hall. In this section, Martini should have referred to E. La Rocca, s.v. *Pantheon* in *LTUR* V, 280-283.

Section 4 (*Das Innere*) reconstructs the interior, stating that it depicts the cosmos. This too can also be found in the work of Wilson Jones cited above (2003, 182-184).

In section 5 (*Die Deutung*, pp. 37-43) Martini argues the case that the building was some sort of throne room, and then wonders whom that space was for (p. 39): 'Hadrian ließ … kein neues Forum errichten, sondern er wandelte das Pantheon in Anlehnung einerseits an die frühen Kaiserforen, andererseits an die Thronsäle von Nero und Domitian um.' But *the* essential characteristic of the early imperial fora was the temple. If that was absent from the Pantheon, as Martini rightly argues, the whole basis of comparison with the fora

disappeared. A much better candidate for a Hadrianic alternative to a forum is the temple of Venus and Rome (see already: S.T.A.M. Mols, The Cult of Roma Aeterna in Hadrian's Politics, in L. de Blois/P. Erdkamp/O. Hekster/G. de Kleijn/S. Mols (eds.), T*he Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, Amsterdam 2003, 458-465). In the end, Martini, like Ziolkowski 1999, sees the building as an *aula regia* in which Hadrian could present himself as a divinely elected ruler. That is an interesting thought. Finally, some bibliographic remarks: Becatti 1953 is not called *Topografia generale*, but: *Ostia. Topografia generale*; For *Bullettino Communale* one should read *Comunale* for Lugli 1917 and Virgili 1999. Why is R. Meigs, *Roman Ostia*, cited in the 1960 edition instead of the 1973 revised second edition? Also, the name of K. de Fine Licht is spelled in three different ways within the text (note 3, 21 and 44).

In this study, Martini has brought together some aspects which are discussed in recent research, though some of that research remains unmentioned. One might wonder what this piece adds to the impressive number of works that have been published in recent years on this intriguing building.

Stephan T.A.M. Mols

ANTONIO CORSO, *The Art of Praxiteles* II. *The Mature Years*. Rome: <<L'Erma>> di Bretschneider, 2007. 307 pp., 119 figs.; 24 cm (Studia Archaeologica 153). – ISBN 88-8265-437-0.

The sequel of volume I of 2004 contains the fifth chapter of what will become a multi-volume publication by one of the greatest experts on Praxiteles and the sculpture of the 4th century BC and includes the *opera* 22-26. Its contents are almost entirely dedicated to the Aphrodite Knidia (*opus* 22, pp. 9-187), one of the most famous statues of Antiquity, if we may believe the numerous literary testimonies and the 335 copies or variations collected by Corso in his note 8. The greatest problems are the absence of the original and the rather weak evidence about the round temple at Knidos, of which remains would have been found around 1970 by Iris Love and more thoroughly studied by Heiner Knell some 20 years after. Corso shows a great trust in the veracity of the sources and retells or translates them with a great ardour. Many conclusions are 'possible', to use a word we find in almost every sentence pertaining these sources, and one possibility not seldom becomes a fact in a following sentence. Everything said seems true, to start with the date of production known from Pliny, viz. 364-361, i.e. the 104th Olympiad. The statue was produced more or less simultaneously with the half-nude Aphrodite of Kos (*opus* 23, pp. 187-191: no trustworthy copy known) and they were 'on sale' together in 361, when both Kos and Knidos wanted to acquire a statue of the goddess for love. If there was a rivalry between Knidos and Kos, the story told by Pliny must be taken *cum grano salis*, a care Corso does not always practice. Corso makes clear that the Knidia served as a votive offering by a local magistrate Eudoxos who dedicated her in a special *tempietto* on a promontory where she could be seen from all sides. The erection of this building and the installment of the statue can be connected with the new foundation of Knidos in those years, in which process the art-loving satrap Mausollos played a major rôle. This Aphrodite got the *epiklesis* Euploia and would become the patroness of various groups of interested people, seafarers, prostitutes and the inhabitants of Knidos, whilst she also became a tourist attraction leading even to *agalmatophilia* including sexual intercourse. The tholos was rebuilt in the run of the Hellenistic era (and these seem to be the mentioned remains visible at Knidos, although they lie on a terrace shielded by a rock that blocks the panorama...). While several dynasts wanted to buy her, the Knidians never sold her, despite economic problems. The great number of copies is, among others, explained by this firmness that made the famous figure still more attractive.

Corso does not practice the mainly German way of reading copies (so-called *Kopienkritik*) we find in important series like *Antike Plastik*. Certainly, he analyses succinctly the main examples and compares them, concluding that the Belvedere Knidia is better than the Colonna Knidia. He does neither reconstruct the precise shape of the original (if possible) and only by reading the long text the reader gets some fix elements like (shape and dimension of) the *kalpis*, the drapery hold with Aphrodite's left hand, the stance of legs, arms and head and details like hair gear and bracelet around the left arm. An important source for the reconstruction of the vessel, for instance, is a fragment showing a relief with swans and garlands found at Brioni Grande (fig. 81).

A better articulation of the description and discussion would have helped the reader. She or he cannot easily plunge into some part, even with the help of the excellent indices, as the reasoning is developed in one long movement of more than 150 dense pages. The red thread is formed by the copies presented in a more or less clear chronological order, in which presentation no distinction is made between the various sorts of copies (marble, terracotta, bronze; big and small; complete and fragmentary). The Julio-Claudian and Hadrianic-Antonine era were the most favourable times for copies. Corso finishes with the exposition of the Knidia next to other sculptures in the *Lauseum* at Constantinople in the 5th century.

Corso does a good job in trying to contextualise the numerous copies and points at the reasons for the purchase: the desire to possess an *opus nobile*, the connection of the figure with the function of the spot etc. It is not sure whether the erection of a Knidia really was an expression of Romanisation in the provinces; that would be true for other works of art as well. Strikingly, the copy from the Villa Hadriana, once exposed in a similar tholos like the original that served as a souvenir of Hadrian's travels, is a very poor copy in contrast with several other figures known from old collections and not documented in their original position.

It is sad to say that the illustrations are of an unequal level and sometimes the key monuments are not depicted at all. Surely, it is a hard job to obtain material from the many museums, *ephories*, *soprintendenze* and the like, but the insertion of old and rather sketchy drawings by Clarac, Reinach and others does not do justice to the matter. Instead, it is strange to find several pages filled with Etruscan urns from Volterra with

images that are look-alikes of our Aphrodite (pp. 63-72). Surely, the book will form a counter piece in the further discussion of Praxiteles' fascinating work, but surely not the last. An important topic, addressed in the run of the text only, is: what does the Knidia represent and what is she doing? Corso does neither mention, let alone tackle the discussion raised in the circles of gender studies and cultural anthropology. Nor does he give a sort of *Forschungsgeschichte* about our subject and leaves out the discussion of previous opinions. That means that the numerous bibliographical references do seldom include other publications than museum catalogues. As to the vexed question of Aphrodite's right hand I am willing to follow i.a. Brunilde S. Ridgway that it is a deictic gesture, showing her female beauty and qualities (cf. B.S. Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, London 1997, 263-264). An update about some other themes, like the possible connection with Plato's philosophy, can be found in A. Pasquier (ed.), *Praxitèle*, Paris 2007, 130-201 (heavily criticised by Corso in N. N. Kazansky (ed.), *Indoevropeiskoe yazykoznanie i klassizeskaya filologia* 11, Sankt Peterburg (2007), 159-182).

Eric M. Moormann

FRIEDERIKE SINN, *Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano. Profano. Ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen* III. *Reliefgeschmückte Gattungen römischer Lebenskultur. Griechische Originalskulptur. Monumente orientalischer Kulte*. Mit Beiträgen von A. Busch, H. Gregarek, M. Langner, S. Lehmann, C. Vorster and M. Xagorari-Gleißner. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2006. 334 pp., 112 pls.; 31 cm (Monumenta Artis Romanae 33). – ISBN 3-89500-393-X.

The papal, bright yellow binding's colour makes the book a merry item in the bookshelves among mostly grey and dark-blue bindings. The contents make the reader still luckier, since interesting categories of sculpture are discussed. The enormous project of documenting the sculpture collections of the former Lateran Museum was started in 1991 by the Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik of the University of Cologne that has also launched a project on private collection in British country houses (cf. here pp. 207-208). Mrs Sinn is the head and the heart of the Roman division and she cannot but be congratulated with this new opus. The collaboration (see title) is limited to determinate sections. The entries are subdivided into provenance (whenever known), technical and restoration matters, bibliography (mostly not trespassing the year 2000), description, analysis, and - many - endnotes. The photos are excellent and document, if possible, all sides of the object. Some objects have no illustrations (nos 156-161, 168). The sometimes extensive bibliographies are mainly German, I should say up to 80 %, for which some discussions look like close readings of German formulations of previous German scholarship. Whenever possible, the pedigree of a depicted type or iconography is entirely worked out: (Anglo-Saxon) scepticism about 'Kopienkritik' and unrelented attachment to the Great Greeks apparently has not reached yet many German scholars (see ultimately E. Perry, *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2005). Personally, I think that the exercises about the possible sources are worth to be done, but must not dominate the discussion of the various monuments: Romans could produce their own 'originals', even when relying on the admired predecessors.

The first group (nos 1-17) is that of the Greek originals, some of which must have been in Rome from the late Republic onwards, arrived as part of booty or purchased by some noble Roman; these are mainly funerary and votive reliefs. Other pieces have been collected in modern times, e.g. the fragments from the metopes, frieze and pediments of the Parthenon, well known in archaeological literature, but presented here in an excellent way. A brilliant analysis is that of a banqueting relief no 15, probably a votive offering of a cult community in Asia Minor from the 2nd century BC. A heros relief with a banquet (no 16, 'pubblicatissimo' to say it with the apt Italian term) has a boy as a servant, described as a 'Lustknabe' (p. 67), for which notion no clue is available. The composition resembles that of the Ikarios relief, but Sinn makes clear that it differs, when studied in deeper detail. The piece should be dated to the late 2nd century BC.

Sinn pleas for more attention for the reliefs belonging to 'Lebenskultur' (nos 18-168) like 'Schmuckreliefs', *oscilla*, candelabra, stone furniture and stone vessels. These adorned both interiors and gardens of Roman houses and villas in an increasing number from the late Republic onwards, as has been made clear in various recent studies on 'Lebenskultur'. I single out a few items, to begin with the seated Penelope, of which other copies are known (no 18). A longish discussion circles around its identification (indeed Penelope) and original function of the relief. It might have been a funerary monument, forming a eulogy on the defunct woman. Two reliefs of the early 1st and early 2nd century AD imitate the Amazonomachy on the shield of Athena Parthenos (nos 19-20). One of them, with a square shape, likens the reliefs at Piraeus and served as a 'Schmuckrelief', whereas the use of the round example remains puzzling. The meaning of the Vatican copy of the well-known Medea and the daughters of Pelias (no 22) is not clear: the suggestion of a tomb stone is attractive, but parallels of mythological scenes on tomb stones are lacking. The historical interpretation of a fight between nude men on no 23 by German Hafner is decidedly discarded by Sinn. The strange relief shows a bearded Dionysos and could go back to a 5th-century original, although I must confess to have my doubts about its genuineness. In that sense I also suspect no 32, a Neptune, where Sinn also puts a question mark, as well as no 148, a woman with odd eyelids. The Dionysiac reliefs nos 28-29 seem to me stylistically similar, so that I cannot agree with the different dating of the two, preferring the Claudian-Neronian era. The lying god on no 33 might be Jupiter as protector and date to the same period as 28-29 (Sinn: Flavian). The frieze no 36 has the Muses, Mnemosyne, Apollo, Zeus and a hero. The Muse seated on the rocks represent bucolic poetry, the woman with the lyre seated in the centre the genre of epics. The matter of function is also addressed to the famous Orpheus and Euridike no 37. If it belonged to a sarcophagus, it would be a unique representation of

this topic in this genre. The relief no 38 with Menander and his lover Glykera, however, belongs to the atmosphere of a studiolo or library and dates to 40-20 BC. An interesting representation of Herakles' deeds is that of an altar from Trastevere, dedicated by the freedman Decimius. I agree with Sinn's attribution to the 2nd half of the 1st century AD and recall the small drilling holes similar to those of nos 28-29 (it could, then, be dated slightly earlier).

The stone furniture objects have been studied by Martin Langner (nos 89-120): tables (one already seen on a drawing by Maarten van Heemskerck), feet of tripod dishes and *monopodia* will have adorned gardens and houses. Stone vessels form a short section by Alexandra Busch (nos 139-147), whereas Sinn treats some *miscellanea*. The very small head wrapped in a scarf no 155 is called a woman, but could be a barbarian, especially a Persian, and stem from a battle sarcophagus.

A fascinating category is that of sculptures depicting figures from foreign cults (nos 169-191). There are two Aiones, some Isides, several Magnae Matres, among which a *rara avis*, viz. a roof terracotta from a small temple on the Palatine (no 184: why inserted among marbles?), Mithras and his assistants Cautes and Cautopates. A lying Attis is peculiar since he is shown as a male young person, but with one breast and female genitals (no 175). Several of these figures stem from sanctuaries in Ostia excavated during the papal government. As to the two Artimides Ephesiae I want to refer to the - in my opinion unlikely - explanation of the 'breasts' or 'male scrota' as mountains by S. Szidat (*JdI* 119, 2004, 83-131). The rich book concludes with five modern items in the style of Greco-Roman sculptures (nos 192-197), the most fascinating of which are two fighting men, probably made after a drawing by Raphael *all'antica*. To be sure, this short review cannot do justice to the richness of information provided. But undoubtedly, the reader will appreciate the thorough discussions presented in this good, genuinely German product of Forschung. We see forward to the next volumes of this important series.

Eric M. Moormann

BARBARA BORG/HENNER VON HESBERG/ANDREAS LINFERT, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Castle Howard*. Mit einer Einleitung von Irmgard Hiller und Beiträgen von Erhart Graefe, Rolf Gundlach und Hansgeorg Oehler. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2005. 202 pp., 105 pls.; 32 cm (Monumenta Artis Romanae 31). – ISBN 3-89500-440-5.

H. Oehler launched an important research project in the 1970s in which scholars from the University of Cologne would study and publish the classical sculptures collected by English collectors in the early modern period in country houses in Great Britain. This series is now enriched by a huge work on the 96 marble statues and 39 other objects in Castle Howard, famous as the setting of the TV series 'Brideshead Revisited' after the novel by Evelyn Waugh. The greater part of the collection was formed around 1739-1740 by Henry Howard, when he was in Rome, whereas his son Frederick bought a set of pieces in Britain at the beginning of the 19th century, among which some items from the property of Sir William Hamilton, the former ambassador at Naples. The country house was originally not built in a way to display ancient sculptures, but the Hall still shows the setting of the pieces as conceived in the middle of the 18th century: as usual in this sort of collections, attention was paid to symmetry in form (standing figures, busts in similar positions) and iconography (portraits, reliefs, inscriptions). The main bulk is on view in a post-World War II position, since the greater part of the building had been afflicted by fire in 1940, in which the antiquities luckily had not been injured. The last owner tried to sell objects in two auctions at Sotheby's (1991 and 1995) and the whereabouts of the sold pieces is mostly not known, whereas of some is said that they have not been sold. Luckily, the editors of the volume decided to include them all the same, so that the reader possesses a presentation of the entire old collection. The entrees are impeccable and show a great scholarly knowledge of the various authors who divided the topics according to their special interests. That means that the late Andreas Linfert studied the copies after or adaptations from Classical and Hellenistic Greek sculpture, Barbara Borg the portraits and Henner von Hesberg the Roman funerary monuments, reliefs and varia (to give some indications). The collection is no exception from the 18th-century rule that all pieces found in a certain degree of incompleteness have been heavily restored and/or treated before entering Britain. Those intact mainly stem from funerary monuments and among these the superb portraits of the Antonine period are the most striking items. The photos are excellent and mostly show the objects against a neutral white surface, while those with the background illustrate how difficult it must have been to document the immovable objects. For that reason some items are only shown frontally and from the sides, while the backs are missing (cf. p. 42 note 2). The order of the plates does not follow consequently that of the catalogue, which is confusing only for the reader of the catalogue as a whole, not for him or her who consults a specific item.

Irmgard Hiller shows in her introduction how the Roman dealers - mainly Franceso de' Ficoroni and Belisario Amedei - sometimes had to mislead the authorities, when they wanted to export an important object. The letters by Ficoroni, archived in the Howard Archive form a fascinating documentation, duly reproduced in the Appendix. They give information about prices, procedures and provenances of a number of statues, both from excavations and collections at Rome. Since my autopsy goes back a decade or so and I could not check the descriptions in front of the original, I must be prudent in commenting on the various entrees. I can mostly agree with what has been proposed.

Cat. 5, a reworked head of a boy seems to me Claudian for its hairdo instead of Hadrianic as preferred by Linfert.

Cat. 8, Hygieia is seen by Linfert as a Claudian figure after a 4th-century original with a Tetrarchic head, the whole being worked in late Antiquity. I ask whether it is not modern rather than antique.

Cat. 9, Hermes with a head of Augustus. The head is not discussed: modern?

Cat. 12, Athena in archaistic style seems not antique to me.

Cat. 13, Dionysos, 1st century BC, might be compared to cat. 5 and be Claudian.

Cat. 22, Dionysos with panther should be late 2nd century AD after a 4th-century model. Its late dating is argued for on the basis of the clumsiness (and the eyes with incisions?), but that does not seem a sound reasoning, for which it can be earlier as well, viz. late 1st or early 2nd century.

Cat. 25, Crispina restored as a Ceres should belong to the category of portraits (nos 29-65) instead of 'Idealplastik'.

Cat. 36, portrait of a boy: I fail to see the personal features and prefer to interpret the piece as an 'Idealstatue'.

Cat. 41, 44 and 45, Antonine portraits, have formerly been seen as not-antique due to their superb quality! For that reason they do seldom feature in discussion on portrait matter.

Cat. 46, urn of P. Granius Claudianus; the name is in genitive, not in dative, but the inscription is so crude that it might not be antique.

Cat. 66-67, two fragments of reliefs made complete by the restorers in a rather reliable way. Suchlike pieces (archaistic representations of Victoria and Dionysos) were very popular among collectors, much different from the - numerous - funerary monuments, having or not relief sculpture (here nos 70-92). Some of the funerary monuments stem from one group's tomb in the 'Vigna Nari'. Repiecing is also shown in the marble candelabrum no 94.

The remainder (nos 97-133) includes bronzes, terracottas, mosaics, *aegyptiaca*, not antique sculptures and, as an addendum, there is no 135, a splendid bust of Commodus in the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu, sold and purchased as a Renaissance master piece in the Sotheby's auction of 1991. Borg makes clear that it is a genuine antique Commodus of which 18 replicas are known, dating to 180-185. This final number forms a beautiful crown on this corpus of sculptures and illustrates how 'old friends' yield new insights when studied accurately. We cannot but congratulate the authors for their splendid volume.

Eric M. Moormann

Musa Kadioğlu, *Die Scaenae Frons des Theaters von Nysa am Mäander. Forschungen in Nysa am Mäander* I, herausgegeben von Vedat Idil und Volker Michael Strocka. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006. XVI, 396 pp., 114 figs, 2 maps, 56 pls., 7 folded plans and drawings; 35.5 cm. – ISBN 3-8053-3610-1.

The long-standing tradition of Turkish-German cooperation in the field of classical archaeology is now enriched by the first volume of what must become a splendid series of studies about *Nyssa ad Maeandrum*. This small town is beloved for its enchanting position at two sides of a deep chasm, with plenty of water and woods, whose centre is dominated by a small, but well-preserved Roman theatre. Nyssa must have been the place where Dionysos had been brought as a baby to be fostered by the nymphs. As a small Turkish town, Sultanhisar, Nyssa slept for centuries, to be waked up archaeologically for the first time in 1907-1909 by the German Archaeological Institute, concentrating on collecting inscriptions and mapping the site. Modern collaboration between the universities of Ankara and Freiburg im Breisgau started in 2002, when V.M. Strocka began working on the considerable remains of the antique library (see *AA* 2006, 81-98) - as we know, one of his favourite topics since his work on the Celsus Library at Ephesos in the 1970s - while the theatre was being explored from 1998 by an Ankara team.

The god of stage deserved his own theatre in this town and really got a splendid example. This building has been excavated from 1982 onwards and the most spectacular find was the sculpted frieze showing the life of Dionysos on the podium of the stage building. The reader who thinks to find a full account of this hitherto remarkably unobserved wealth of iconography must wait some more time, since the study of this part will be the object of a future volume in the series by one of the chief editors of the series, Vedat Idil (see p. IV and p. 30, note 229). The book under review is dedicated to the architecture of the theatre as a whole and focuses on the documentation, reconstruction and chronology of the huge scene building. This work could be realised rather trustworthily thanks to the enormous amount of blocks found during the excavation within and immediately outside the complex. Of course, a lot of the building material had been looted in the run of the centuries, but considerable quantities, especially containing key pieces for the reconstruction of the main features, were still available and could be systemized with the help of a crane according to groups. Kadioğlu did a painstaking job in documenting all fragments, with the result that we have a true *Bauaufnahme* in good German tradition. Each block is extensively described and documented in drawings and photos (pp. 167-345: 713 items, including some bronzes and bones).

The first chapter presents a short introduction into Nyssa's topography and history. The town's apogee must be placed in the 2nd century AD and in AD 129 Hadrian possibly visited this town. In that period the *Asiarchos* Kydoros financed the *proskenion* of the theatre, but a new version must have been made around 200.

The theatre is oriented exactly north-south, measures 79 x 99m and could contain some 10.000 spectators. A peculiar feature is that the river Tekkecik streams beneath it and continues in the mentioned chasm, which means a great engineering work of a 100m gallery and a bridge mentioned by Strabo. The *cavea* has been preserved completely and raised up to 22m. It has 48 concentric rows of seats in three ranks, divided into nine *cunei*. An old assumption of a gallery running at the upper rim of the cavea cannot be substantiated. The shape and organisation of the theatre correspond with those of other examples in Asia Minor, having well-worked *analemmata* (with bosses), a more than half-circled ('überzogen') *koilon*, a high *proskenion* and a straight *scaenae frons* (p. 16). The plan is a mix of Greek and Roman forms, what can be explained as the result of the construction of a small *scaena* in the early Imperial period. The *proskenion* contained nine cavities in which animals and gladiators could be systemized, in case the

building was used for gladiatorial games. The *scaena* (10 x 37.75m) was constructed in a mixed building technique and contains five doors towards five rooms, those at the corners having staircases in stone. This number - with the central *porta regia* and lateral *portae hospitales*, is canonical for Asia Minor (p. 154). There were three stories reaching a height of more than 20m. The niches in the lower and middle registers contained statues of Muses and gods, probably also of personifications. No portraits have been found. A Tyche might refer to the gladiatorial games (p. 88), whereas the remainder is rather standard repertoire in such a scenic context. The chronology is worked out on the basis of a stylistic analysis of the architectural elements, which means three phases (late 1st century BC, 120-140 and after 178, date of an earthquake in relatively near Smyrna/Izmir). The reader is well served, getting many *comparanda* in good images, which endorse the dating proposal of the author. As to the design, Kadioğlu calculates an *embater* or *modulus* of 29.42 cm (p. 151).

Some small points can be observed in respect to this meticulous publication. The *proskenion* is called 'Bühne' (p. 17), which seems to me not well-formulated. Another matter of terminology is the use of 'Tabernakel' for the *aediculae* in the stage façade. Although, as I said, the documentation reaches the level of a complete architectural record, there is no *Steinplan*: 'Beilage 1' has been made with CAD, but presents more of a reconstruction in which the columns of the *proskenion* (see 'Beilage 4') are lacking as well as those in front of the podium. Let us hope that the sequel of this study will come out soon. The monument deserves it.

Eric M. Moormann

MARY C. STURGEON, *Corinth* IX, Part III. *Sculpture. The Assemblage from the Theater*. Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004. XXXIV, 236 pp., 4 plans, 73 pls; 31 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-093-9.

From the beginning of the 1970s Mary Sturgeon has dedicated her scholarly life to the sculpture found at Isthmia and Corinth. As to the latter site, Sturgeon started with her study on the reliefs of the *scaenae frons* representing the Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy and the Labours of Herakles. Now (ms. finished in 2001) she presents the free-standing statues and some relief pieces, again belonging to the stage facade, but also those once exposed on the stage, in the orchestra and in the *cavea*. Most sculptures are in a fragmentary condition, broken in late Antiquity and dumped in or near the theatre itself. That makes the interpretation of these fragments still more difficult than the reliefs in *Corinth* IX.II from 1977 and we cannot but admire the great skill and inventive talent Sturgeon shows in the attribution of things that look hopeless like the back of a horse (Cheiron, possibly with next to him Achilles) and a torso combined with some curly hair pieces as the body and head of Antinoos in the guise of Apollo Lykeios, but thanks to the crown as Dionysos in that stance. The book is clearly divided into two large parts: a study of the ensemble (pp. 1-60) and the catalogue of the 94 pieces (pp. 61-210). There are beautiful photos in duotone that provide an excellent documentation so that the reader can easily follow Sturgeon's reasoning. The theatre was constructed in the era of Hadrian, possibly shortly before his visit to Corinth in AD 123 and replaced an older stage building parts of which go back to the 4th century BC. As many Augustan and Tiberian pieces of sculpture illustrate, the predecessor must have had a lavish decoration and a stage building adorned with statuary like that splendidly reconstructed on 'Plans' II and III. This stage building was the crown on the idea of 'self-identification of the city'(p. 1) expressed by the insertion of colossal portraits of Augustus, Livia, Trajan and Hadrian (T and H in central part, T in upper storey; A., L. and T. in lower storey in three separate niches) and statues of gods and other mythical figures, mostly connected with Corinth. As such, the stage building has not yielded many pieces that can be attributed with some certainty: max. 26 items, but of course several other elements now linked to the remainder of the building might belong to this ensemble as well. As a matter of fact, there were three levels, full of niches and flanking the *aula regia* and the two *hospitalia*.

The theatre has been excavated between 1898 and 1929. Unfortunately, the diaries do not always give exact information about the find circumstances, so that some of the re-locations remain uncertain. An earthquake in the later 4th century set an end to its functioning and the Corinthians used the ruins as a quarry when they built a defense wall against the Visigoths.

As to the catalogue I applaud the meticulousness Sturgeon demonstrates. Some small remarks pertaining single pieces may be made. As to dating no 2 (Augustus in hip-mantle costume) I think that Sturgeon's Claudian date has a higher degree of similarity than the Tiberian one, since the folds' channels always end abruptly and the type is especially popular from Claudius onwards (see now C.H. Hallet, *The Roman Nude*, Oxford 2005, 161, also mentioning this piece). In contrast, the Livia no 3 is earlier and lacks these drilling channels. She might represent a Pietas (cf. T. Mikocki, *Sub specie deae*, Rome 1995). The busts of the niches in the second storey nos 6-8 might indeed represent Helios, Poseidon and Demeter: do they symbolise three of the four elements, favourable to Corinth or is this too far-fetched a suggestion of mine? The water is also symbolised by the oval reliefs of Triton and Nereid nos 9-10 (the suggestion of Aphrodite is less plausible in this reasoning). Regarding the two actors clad as Silens placed against pillars and serving as *telamones*, we might ask whether there were more of them than the two rather lonely ones now reconstructed in the upper storey. No 13: fragments of a horse, belonging to a Dioscure: was the animal complete or half, jutting out from the back wall? There might have been a young Dioscure among the ideal figures nos 14, 16, 19, 20 (however, the latter is a replica of Polykleitos' Doryphoros). No 22, hip herm of Herakles: Sturgeon describes the hand wrapped in a mantle as the 'attitude of a Greek philosopher' (p. 123), but I think that of a rhetor is more plausible - think of the Lateran Sophokles - and Herakles becomes a *mousagetes* or at least a *mousikos aner*, in which the agonistic aspect is also represented. Like the Cheiron of no 23, he stands for culture. Nos 25 (Antinoos) and 26 (Dionysos) are pendants, since they are from the same Thasian

marble, have the same format and style. One might suggest that Antinoos is represented twice: in no 25 as an Apollo Lykeios, in no 26 as Dionysos. His presence endorses the cultural and political iconographical programme of the scaenae frons with a greater force. No 27: a winner or official of the Isthmian games; a young, Nubian example is that in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam (E.M. Moormann, *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2000, no 69). Nos 32 and 33: I do not see a great stylistic and hence chronological difference between the woman (3rd century) and the man (4th century) and suggest a Severan date for both portraits. No 41: see also Allard Pierson Museum (Moormann cit. no. 120). Nos 54-55, two *togati* of the middle of the 4th century: I agree with the earlier date than previously suggested (viz. 5th century), but cannot explain why they would have been torn down one or two decades after erection only, if the theatre became out of use around 365. No 67: Amazone - a very important piece, excellently analysed here and dated correctly to the Antonine period. No 68 has, I think, drilling forms like no 2 that make me prefer Amedick's proposal of a Claudian date instead of 2nd century. The 'depth' is not greater, as Sturgeon suggests, to make it 100 years younger. No 71: stele with inscription, unfortunately not given. The inscription of no 72 is only partly reproduced. No 73, a small roughly carved bust of an emperor, is said to be 'the most complete and most enigmatic sculpture' within this collection. Sturgeon's solution is very likely: a small private-cult bust of Antoninus Pius, lost here. It shows gilding (in general: on polychromy the text is scanty and no extra plates are given).

Eric M. Moormann

FERNANDO SCIACCA, *Patere Bacellate in Bronzo, Oriente, Grecia, Italia in età orientalizzante*. Roma: «L'ERMA» di Bretschneider, 2005. 519 pp., 351 figs.; 25 cm (Studia Archeologica 139). – ISBN 88-8265-338-2.

Patere Bacellate in Bronzo or Ribbed Bronze Bowls are one of the markers for the Mediterranean Orientalizing phenomenon. Ferdinando Sciacca catalogued, outstandingly, more than 400 of these ribbed bowls dating from the 9th to 6th centuries BC. The bowls were recovered all over the Mediterranean in regions from Iran to Spain and from central Europe to Palestine/Israel. The form of these bowls originates in the Middle/Near East and they were mainly used during elite symposia or banqueting rituals. More than 300 of the catalogued *patere bacellate* were found in high status tombs in Italy dating to the 8th and 7th centuries BC. It should however be stressed that most of these bowls are made in Italy itself. The imitation in Italy of models that derived from elsewhere is anyhow one of the characteristics of the period discussed. The Iron Age and the subsequent Orientalizing period in Italy are distinguished by the ready adoption of people, goods and ideas. Thus the *patere bacellate* are of oriental origin, first imported to Italy, after which they were imitated locally. In the East the ribbed bowls are associated with libations, drinking rituals and Kings from the 9th century BC onwards. In Italy the ribbed bowls are dated from the second half of the 8th century BC onwards though one could argue that the first ribbed bowls arrived around 775 BC. The majority of the *orientalia* in Italy derives from the Syro-Phoenician coast while Sciacca assigns the prototype of the ribbed bowl to Middle Eastern cultures, especially to Assyria. From there the bowls were dispersed to other areas, to Cyprus, Crete, Greece and to Spain but especially to Italy with more than 300 items dated mainly between 750 and 650 BC in the conventional chronology.

Sciacca divides the book in 8 chapters. He starts with a chapter that discusses the research history of the ribbed bowls, the aims of the study and the typological criteria of these hammered vessels. Chapter 2 is a catalogue on the *patere bacellate* from particular regions ranging from the Middle-East to Spain with most specimens documented in Assyria (21 catalogue entries) and in Urartu and surrounding areas (26 bowls). Each catalogue entry describes the bowl type, its whereabouts, inventory number, preservation, description and bibliography. The vast majority of the bowls is illustrated. Chapter 3 concentrates on the 37 specimens from the Aegean and Greece. Chapter 4 represents the bulk of the book that discusses in 130 pages the ribbed bowls from Italy and a few specimens from North of the Alps (3 from East France and 1 from Germany). The 4 ribbed bowls from France and Germany document once more the relation between central Europe and Italy during Hallstatt C/Orientalizing period, a relation that is also documented for other groups of artefacts. The majority of the Italian *patere bacellate* is preceded during the Villanovan period by bronze vessels that are closely associated with the central European HaB2/3 bronze vessels as recently published by C. Iaia (*Produzioni Toreutiche della Prima Età del Ferro in Italia centro-settentrionale*. Pisa/Roma, 2005). Thus the book by Iaia and the publication by Sciacca combined, do present a significant part of the bronze vessel production in Italy from the 9th till 7th century BC.

Noteworthy in chapter 4 are the 72 catalogued bowls from Vetulonia, the 80 specimens from Marsiliana d'Albegna and the early ribbed bowls from *Latium Vetus* (at sites such as Castel di Decima and Acqua Acetosa Laurentina). The hundreds of bronze ribbed bowls reported from mainly central Italy, are foremost a testimony for the exceptional, archaeological record of its funerary ritual from ca 800 to 600 BC. Secondly they probably document a selection process regarding the local adoption of Oriental prototypes in the Mediterranean. In Spain and in Greece, for example, the *patere bacellate* appear to have been less popular than in Etruria and *Latium Vetus* though this assessment might be clouded on account of diverging archaeological visibility per region. Thus, in Greece, the bowls are mainly recovered in sanctuaries while in Italy they were predominantly found in elite tombs. Many privately owned ribbed bowls in Greece might not have been deposited or could even have been used as scrap metal after a while. Nonetheless the distribution of the ribbed bowls per Mediterranean region most likely records differences in the modes of interaction with the Levant, a topic that needs to be examined in more detail.

Chapter 5 discusses in about 60 pages the analysis and production of the ribbed bowls per Mediterranean

district except for Italy that is presented in the next chapter. Chapter 6 presents in about 100 pages various topics such as the funerary context, the analysis and production of the bowls per Italian region and a synthesis that ponders on questions like imports, local imitation, immigrant Levantine craftsmen and the possible existence of Phoenician production. The problem with the last question is the almost complete absence of a corpus of Phoenician metal vessels in their homeland, present Lebanon. Nonetheless Sciacca concludes, in my opinion accurately, that Phoenician production of ribbed bowls is most probable, considering the distribution of these bowls in the Mediterranean that follows the patterns and routes of the Phoenician trading empire. Subsequently it is somewhat surprising that Sciacca adds, in chapter 7, the role of the Middle-East, based mainly on its historical record, as the dominant power in the region and as a possible provider of elite prototypes and commodities that were eventually adopted in central Italy. He thus conforms to the recent reappraisal of the Assyrian role in the economy of the Phoenician city-states though in his final remarks he differentiates between Middle-Eastern military-political power and a Near-Eastern cultural *koinè*. In this context it should however be emphasized that the Orientalizing *koinè* or phenomenon that touched various regions of the Mediterranean came about not through Middle-Eastern intermediaries but through Phoenician merchants. Their trading empire became already established in the Western Mediterranean from the 10th century BC onwards and they have to be considered as the main carriers of Levantine goods.

The last chapter (8) on the significance, function and transformation of the *patere bacellate* is like an epilogue in two sections. In section 8.1 he discusses the Orient and Greece while in section 8.2, Italy is assessed. It is interesting that Sciacca stresses in detail the high ceremonial value of the ribbed bowls as a royal drinking vessel for wine in the Orient, the ritual connotation of the Greek specimens on account of the fact that the vast majority is recovered in sanctuaries while for Italy he concentrates on their function within the elite symposium/banqueting ritual even if they appear to have been also employed as a bowl for eating while some were used as an offering bowl.

The book closes with over 60 pages bibliography, 4 pages distribution graphs and 351 figures.

The present book is an elaboration of Sciacca's unpublished PhD-research under supervision of Prof. Giovanni Colonna and Prof. Gilda Bartoloni of the Institute of Etruscology and Italic Antiquities, 'La Sapienza' University, Rome. During the PhD-research he studied the corpus of the ribbed bowls of the Orientalizing period in Italy concentrating on:
- typological and technological analysis in order to determine the chronology, the centres of production and the trade between the various regions, and on
- the distribution of the bowls in tombs in order to assess their function in the funerary ritual.

One of the interesting aspects, hardly presented by Sciacca in this book, is his corpus of ribbed bowls in relation to the other *orientalia* found in Italy as a means of elite's self-representation. This aspect is difficult to assess since it requires full knowledge of all the Italian elite tombs of both the Villanovan and the subsequent Orientalizing period, a topic that could only be examined in detail by a research project that includes several scholars on account of the vast and dispersed quantity of the archaeological evidence. Sciacca concentrates on the Orientalizing period with its leaning towards the East Mediterranean but he barely touches on the preceding Villanovan Tombs with *orientalia* (cf. A.J. Nijboer 2005, La cronologia assoluta dell'età del Ferro nel Mediterraneo, dibattito sui metodi e sui risultati, in *Oriente e Occidente. Metodi e discipline a confronto. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'età del ferro in Italia*, edited by G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, Pisa, 542-546; A.J. Nijboer 2006, Coppe di tipo Peroni and the beginning of the Orientalizing phenomenon in Italy during the late 9th century BC in *Studi di Protostoria in onore di Renato Peroni*. All'Insegna del Giglio Borgo San Lorenzo (FI): pp. 288-304; A.J. Nijboer, forthcoming, Italy and the Levant during the Late Bronze and Iron Age (1200-750/700 BC). Paper to be published in *"Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology"*. Edited by Claudia Sagona. Monograph of *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, Peeters Press, Leuven). These Late Villanovan elite tombs are noteworthy due to the numerous bronze vessels that are based mainly on central European prototypes (Iaia 2005). It could be stated that one of the characteristics of the Iron Age/Villanovan period in central Italy was its cultural inclination towards the North with a long-standing tradition of relations between Italy and the Urnfield cultures of regions to the North of the Alps. The subsequent Orientalizing period in central Italy is, amongst others, distinguished by its cultural leaning towards the East (the Levant and Greece). This cultural shift and its duration in time is one of the main topics debated between the Italian Pre/Proto-historians and Etruscologists. It is therefore not surprising that both Sciacca as well as Iaia are hardly crossing this Italian divide of disciplines with all its consequences for the considerable number of Late Villanovan tombs containing orientalia.

The discussion of the Orientalizing phenomenon in Italy is still focused on specific artefacts as found in the most elaborate tombs, especially the Tombe Principesche. These 'princely' tombs are, in spite of the available archaeological evidence, hardly accepted as the pinnacle of a process of increasing destruction of goods in a most elaborate funerary rite that emerged during the 9th century BC. In general, till now, little attention was paid to the ribbed bowls of the 8th and 7th century BC. Sciacca redresses this topic. His book provides us with a fascinating and detailed catalogue of the ribbed bronze bowls. Thus he gives us indirectly an impression of the scale of the Orientalizing phenomenon, especially in Italy. The publication by Sciacca is for various reasons remarkable as stressed above and therefore it is applauded that he was awarded the XII Premio di «L'ERMA» di Bretschneider.

Albert J. Nijboer

LOREDANA CAPUIS/ANNA MARIA CHIECO BIANCHI, *Monumenti Antichi. Este* II. *La necropoli di Villa Benvenuti*. Roma: Academia Nazionale dei Lincei/Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2006; 537 pp., 223 tavole di grafici, 64 Tavole Fotografiche; 33 cm

(Serie Monografica VII (LXIV della serie generale)). – ISBN 88-7689-232-X/ISSN 0391-8092.

Este in the Po-valley, approximately 25 km. to the SW of Padova, is one of the key sites for the study of pre-Roman, Northern Italy and as such traditionally of importance for the enquiry into the relations between Italy and central Europe from the 10th century BC to the emergence of the Roman Empire. The habitation area of ancient Este covers an area of 65 hectares while 3 extensive necropolises have been excavated to the north of the settlement; the Rebato-Candeo necropolis, the Ricovero-Benvenuti necropolis and the Castello necropolis. Apparently there is also a considerable number of tombs to the South and East of the settlement (see fig. 1 on p. 10). As such Este is one of the most Northern examples in Italy of primary, Iron Age, sites that embody the rise of proto-urban and urban centres, a phenomenon that can be traced in varying grades, on the whole peninsula, from Calabria to Northern Italy, from the 9th and 8th centuries BC onwards. In North-East Italy this phenomenon is represented by sites such as Bologna, Este and Verucchio while to the North of the Po-valley this process is represented to a lesser extend by, for example, the Golasecca and Palaeoveneto cultures.

The previous Volume, *Este* I (2 volumes), was published in 1985, by the same authors also in the *Monumenti Antichi* Series, and presents the contents of 171 tombs of the Ricovero-Benvenuti necropolis subdivided in the areas Casa di Ricovero, Casa Muletti Prosdocimi and Casa Alfonsi (Chieco Bianchi & Calzavara Capuis 1985). In addition, *Este* I presents about 300 artefacts from Este tombs without exact provenance.

In the prologue of *Este* II, the editors of the Monograph Series of *Monumenti Antichi*, write that they intend to conclude the Este Monographs with a third Volume on the 150 tombs excavated in between 1983 and 1993. Also these tombs pertain to the Villanovan to Roman period.

The present volume, *Este* II, publishes in fine detail the contents of 99 tombs of the Villa Benvenuti area of the Ricovero-Benvenuti necropolis that were excavated from 1879 to 1904. These tombs are dated to the period that ranges from 800 to about 100 BC. The tombs published are mainly assigned to various phases of *Este* II and III (Este phase II is assigned in this book to the 8th century BC while Este phase III covers the period from 700 to ca 250 BC). As in Este I, the Roman graves are not included in the publication except for some selected tombs.

The mayor part of *Este* II consists of the actual catalogue in which all 99 tombs are discussed extensively (pp. 49-398). The presentation of each tomb opens with the old excavation notes, followed by a description of each artefact assigned to the tomb and concluded by a brief discussion of the tomb referring to earlier studies and other tombs at Este.

Subsequently Este II has four appendices:

- on the osteological analysis of the cremated remains (pp. 399-449),
- on the analysis of the faunal remains (pp. 451-465),
- on the technology, restoration and reproduction of the *situla Benvenuti* from Tomb 126 (see pp. 320-331 with 81 catalogue entries), the famous, exciting pail with embossed scenes that link Este with elite customs in Etruria (pp. 467-476; this tomb and pail is discussed in more detail below) and
- on the anthropological analysis and archaeology of the Casa di Ricovero necropolis (pp. 477-484).

From page 485 to 498 one finds several tables that give a synopsis on relations in time between Bologna, Este and Hallstatt, on the dating of the Este Tombs, concordances of tomb numbers etc. The subsequent analytical index is extremely useful on account of its depth (pp. 499-521). The book is concluded with lists of figures, also given per tomb, and the illustrations themselves from Tavola 1 to 223 (the drawings) and from Tavola I to LXIV (the photographs).

Most striking in both Este volumes on the pre-Roman tombs is the cultural continuity in the funerary ritual from the Iron Age onwards for a period that lasted about 600 years. This is in sharp contrast to the considerable changes in burial customs that took place in central Italy from the 9th century BC onwards. At Este some changes did take place in the quantity and style of the artefacts deposited, though the basics remained alike. Take, for example, one of the oldest and youngest tombs in *Este* II, Tomb 71 (2 depositions), assigned to Este phase IIA, early 8th century BC and Tomb 297 (at least 5 depositions), assigned to Este phase III D2 – IV, around 250 BC. Both are simple pit tombs with ceramic jars containing the cremated remains and covered with bowls. In addition some personal ornaments were deposited such as fibulae.

One of the richest and most extensively discussed tombs published in *Este* II, is Tomb 126, assigned to Este phase III B2 (625-575 BC). There are 14 other Tombs assigned to this phase in *Este* II (see page 488). Tomb 126 was excavated in January 1880 and consisted of a chest measuring 75 by 60 cm with a height of 72 cm made from six calcareous, tuff slabs cemented together with a whitish clay. Inside the chest were the associated, intact artefacts while just outside it, the remains of the funerary pyre and shards were traced. Just above the remains of the funerary pyre a skeleton was found that is not further discussed by the authors (see for the 1880 illustration, Tavola XXVIII, b). Inside the stone chest, in its north corner, the cremated remains of a toddler (1-3 years old, pp. 431-432), were placed in a ceramic jar (catalogue number 7, p. 322) that in turn was set in the famous bronze situla with embossed and incised scenes (catalogue number 1, pp. 321-322). Depicted on this bronze *situla*, in three, separate, horizontal rows, are men on thrones, two boxers fighting, warriors with crested helmets, other men, a musician with horn, drinking scenes, chariot, sphinxes, griffins, centaur, winged lion, horses, cow, dog, bird of prey, goat and deer. In between these figures are plant motives such as lotus flowers. There is evidence for repairs in Antiquity, which makes it probably a family heirloom. All details of the depicted scenes are given in a new, fold-out illustration (fig. 8) in between page 320 and 321.

The *situla* was covered with a shallow, bronze bowl that originally seems to have been a hemispherical bowl with raised handle (see p. 470). The *situla* contained two bronze discs covered with gold foil, tiny fragments of beaded cloth (possibly fragments of a belt), a necklace

with pendants, the ceramic jar that contained the cremated remains, a ceramic bowl that covered the ceramic jar, two bronze *fibulae* and over 100 bronze 'buttons', which probably were sewn onto a cloth. On the other side of the stone chest, the second ossuary was placed in a ceramic jar that was covered with a bowl (catalogue entries 12 and 13, p. 323). This ossuary did not contain any bone remains and therefore sex and age could not be determined. On the bottom of the stone chest were placed 12 ceramic vessels indicating a drinking and eating ritual as well as two wooden 'sceptres' covered with bronze, decorated sheet. The table wares in tomb 126 as in other Este tombs refer to a funerary banquet, remains of which are found in countless other tombs all over Italy during the 9th to 6th centuries BC.

In the catalogue of Tomb 126, the authors include 47 other entries of which it has not been recorded where they were originally deposited inside the chest. Among these are weaving implements, bronze pendants, numerous *fibulae*, pins, bracelets, beads, chains and an iron knife.

The authors assume that this was a double deposition of a child with an adult (the mother?) of whom the cremated remains could not be examined. Multiple depositions in one tomb are common at Este. A second deposition of a woman in Tomb 126 is likely on account of the associated *corredo*, that predominately pertain to the adult, female domain, as recorded so often elsewhere in Italy. Tomb 126 itself is dated to the late 7th century BC. As is the case with the *situla Benvenuti*, it can not be excluded that some of the artefacts deposited in the chest were heirlooms.

The account of Tomb 126 gives rise to many questions such as:

- What is the relationship between the chest itself, the remains of the funerary pyre just outside it and the skeleton? Could all this somehow not constitute a proper family tomb as found elsewhere in Italy, also at Este?
- How can the embossed *situla* of Tomb 126 be linked with the numerous, other, embossed and decorated bronzes found at Este in terms of production?
- What is the connection between this tomb and other, contemporaneous, comparable, rich tombs at Este, for example, Tomb 76 (with remains of a bronze *situla*), Tomb 78 and Tomb 83 (see for a brief discussion on related family tombs at Este, pp. 44-48)?

It might not be possible to answer some of these questions on account of the available documentation, nonetheless with the *Este* I, II and forthcoming III publications there should be enough data available, to reconstruct events at the site in more detail.

Though *Este* II is beyond reproach because it presents mainly essential, archaeological data, there are some aspects concerning the wider interpretation of the Este tombs, which I would like to address; the contacts between Este and Bologna and the Absolute Chronology maintained.

Bologna is located approximately 90 km to the SSW of Este and both sites are somewhat tied. It is therefore remarkable that the authors do not refer to these links more specifically. For example, they do not refer to the comprehensive study by Panichelli on the 8th century BC tombs at Bologna (S. Panchelli 1990, Sepolture Bolognesi dell'VIII secolo a.C., in *Miscellanea Protostorica, Archaeologia Perusina* 6, a cura di G.L. Carancini, Roma, pp. 187-408.). Using Panichelli's research in combination with the *Este* I and II publications, one could analyse the 8th century BC relations between both sites in considerable detail.

In addition both Bologna and Este are often referred to, in studies that deal with the relations between Italy and central Europe during the Iron Age. This is amongst others illustrated by the table on p. 485 that gives the relation in relative and absolute chronology of Bologna, Este and Hallstatt. In the past 20 years this chronological correlation has been debated intensely on account of dendrochronological results in central Europe that have caused considerable gaps of at least, several decades between the conventional and adjusted absolute chronology (A.J. Nijboer 2005, A.J. La cronologia assoluta dell'età del Ferro nel Mediterraneo, dibattito sui metodi e sui risultati", in *Oriente e Occidente. Metodi e discipline a confronto. Riflessioni sulla cronologia dell'età del ferro in Italia*, edited by G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, Pisa (Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali), pp. 527-556). The authors do not refer to this debate and maintain the conventional dates. It is at present valid to do so but the consequences of a possible revision are considerable and therefore warrant discussion. It should result in more dendrochronological or radiocarbon research in northern Italy for especially the period 900 to 600 BC.

The topics raised above, are merely comments and in no way form a critique on *Este* II since its main objective is the presentation of the primary, archaeological data of 99 of the hundreds of tombs excavated around the site. Both authors succeeded well in obtaining this objective and therefore the book is highly recommended to all interested in the historical processes that took place in Italy and beyond during the 9th till 3rd centuries BC. Without publications such as *Este* II these processes can not be assessed.

Albert J. Nijboer

ULRICH GEHRIG, *Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion von Samos. Samos* IX. Mit einem Beitrag von Gerwulf Schneider. Bonn: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. In Kommission bei Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2004. 354 pp. 130 Tafeln; 30 cm. – ISBN 3-7749-3271-9.

Griffins are intriguing, mythical creatures which have fascinated men for over 5000 years. In the past Millennium it has become a popular heraldic and fantasy symbol. The iconographic motive of a bird of prey as a *Mischwesen* with head and wings of an eagle and ears, body and hind quarters of a lion appears to originate in the Middle East and found its way gradually to Europe. The griffin was accepted as a motive especially during the Orientalizing period when it was adopted in specific regions of Greece, Italy and Spain and during the Middle-Ages in North-West Europe. The book by Gehrig deals with the Orientalizing period and limits itself to bronze, griffin heads that used to decorate the shoulders of cauldrons during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, as found particularly in the sanctuaries on Samos and at Olympia. These griffin protomes should however never be separated from their cauldrons as

used in the symposium or banqueting ritual nor from a wider discussion regarding the Orientalizing phenomenon, a period that is characterized by the widespread adoption in the Mediterranean of Levantine motives and customs. It is therefore regrettable that Gehrig places the griffin protomes in a purely Hellenic context. His main reason to do so is the fact that the vast majority of the griffin protomes derives from Greece, mainly from Samos. Nevertheless their evaluation allows for alternative readings since the finds from Samos clearly document that the Heraion had become a leading, Greek, commercial centre that will have attracted Phoenicians and other ethnic groups as well during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion von Samos presents an extensive, good catalogue of the 300 griffin heads found in the Heraion of Samos. However this excellent catalogue covers only a third of the publication (including the illustrations). The book can be criticized in most other respects such as the workshop attributions and the limited synthesis.

Samos IX is subdivided in three parts. Part I from page 7 to 259 presents the griffin heads including the full catalogue of the Samos specimens. Part II from page 261 till 306 presents fragments of tripods on which the cauldrons originally must have been placed. Part III by Gerwulf Schneider, covering 6 pages, discusses in detail the material characteristics of some of the cores of those griffin protomes that were cast.

Subsequently there are 5 tables mainly with concordances of which Table 5 is interesting since it presents, apparently, all known griffin heads ordered by workshop or by chronology. It should be noted that quite a few (about 28 %) of the 569 protomes listed in Table V, are not assigned to a specific workshop. Moreover a number of the griffin heads have no archaeological provenance since they were acquired in the past on the Antiques market and sold to quite a number of museums and collectors all over the world. The book closes with 130 pages with fine photographs of the majority of the griffin heads discussed.

Unfortunately there is no separate bibliography. The literature cited, is mentioned in the footnotes, which makes it difficult to obtain an overview of the studies used for writing this publication. The omission of a separate bibliography is policy of the Samos Series by the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* and can therefore not be hold against Gehrig. Nonetheless, looking at the footnotes, it seems that the literature used, is limited and often refers to previous publications by Herrmann and Jantzen on which this publication anyhow rests heavily. This is fully acknowledged by Gehrig: 'Ohne die Werke von U. Jantzen und H.-V. Herrmann hätte dieser Katalog nicht vorgelegt werden können' (p. 5).

Basic or specific literature regarding the Orientalizing phenomenon in the Mediterranean is not cited in the footnotes and therefore seems not to have been reflected upon except for some restricted remarks on pp. 164-165. In this context a sentence in the preface that he wrote March 2001, is instructive. Gehrig writes on page V: 'Der Beitrag von W. Gauer in den Akten des Tübinger Kolloquiums zum Thema 'Olympia, der Orient und Etrurien', Tübingen 1997 (2000) 113 ff. ist mir erst während des Drucks dieses Bandes bekanntgeworden; leider konnte ich ihn nicht mehr in meinem Text berücksichtigen' (the book referred to is titled: *Der Orient und Etrurien*). Since Gauer in this paper stresses the importance of the Levant and Levantine craftsmen for the developments at Olympia during 8th century BC, the reader is left with the question how Gehrig would have adjusted his book, away from the purely Hellenic setting he gives us, in case he would have been able to use Gauers' article.

The Greek bias in *Samos* IX is especially noteworthy in the attribution of workshops, which covers a significant part of the publication. Gehrig describes on stylistic and debatable grounds not less than 25 workshops. He considers all griffin heads to be produced in Greece, even the earliest types. Therefore it is confusing that he maintains for the earliest griffin heads, the denomination already given by Herrmann that is the Barberini and Bernardini group/workshop. The name derives from the extremely rich Barberini and Bernardini tombs in Praeneste, *Latium Vetus*, Italy. In Gehrigs' reading Greek workshops are given the name of Italian tombs. The Barberini and Bernardini tombs can be dated around 700 BC (ca 25 years) and are famous for their numerous Levantine luxuries and symposium sets but not for their Greek imports. Griffin heads assigned by Gehrig to the Bernardini and Barbarini workshops are found from Western Turkey to Italy and thus follow the distribution pattern of other Levantine goods around 750-650 BC. Gehrigs' assessment of Hellenic workshops producing all griffin protomes does not make any sense unless one reconstructs Mediterranean trade around 700 BC as a purely Greek affair, as Greek ships carrying the Levantine luxuries as well as some Late Geometric and early Corinthian ceramics. In such a reconstruction the substantial amount of Levantine goods as found in numerous wealthy Late Villanovan/Early Orientalizing tombs in Italy, are traded and probably produced as well, by Greeks. This reconstruction is fiction for me. It is more likely that the Mediterranean became acquainted with the Levantine prototypes and early imports from the 9th/8th century BC onwards and that these prototypes were, after selection, imitated in local workshops, for Greece those associated with the festivals at the main Greek sanctuaries and for Italy, the workshops associated with the proto-urban centres with their emerging patriciate. The griffin heads are pendants of the bronze ribbed bowls, a catalogue of which by Sciacca was reviewed above. In fact the few griffin protomes recorded by Gehrig from Susa, Lebanon, Andalusia, Cyprus, Rhodes and other Mediterranean sites mirror the distribution pattern of the ribbed bronze bowls studied by Sciacca. Thus Sciacca described 5 bronze ribbed bowls from the Heraion on Samos and 11 from Olympia. While the *patere bacellate* appear to be more prevalent in Italy during the period 750 to 650 BC, the cauldrons decorated with griffin heads are more popular in Greece, especially in the sanctuaries on Samos and at Olympia where they were produced locally. Griffin heads and ribbed bowls in Greece are associated with the sanctuaries while in Italy they are found in high status tombs. It is moreover noteworthy that the distribution of the griffin protomes follows many of the sites described by E. Lipiński in *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Louvain, 2004).

The whole problem regarding Phoenician/Levantine or Greek prototypes and trade is aggravated by Gehrigs' statement that all griffin heads were produced during the period 690-620 BC while insufficiently referring to a publication that can not be traced with the information given (p. 171, note 770). As many other colleagues, I maintain that the griffin heads decorating cauldrons, emerged somewhere during the second half of the 8th century BC. The early griffin protomes are worked and hammered such as numerous other metal artefacts with a Levantine connotation that can be found especially in Greece and Italy from the 9th century BC onwards if not before. After a while, mainly during the 7th century BC, the protomes were cast. Griffin heads can still be found in 6th century BC contexts both in Greece as in Italy.

Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion von Samos by Gehrig is a useful addition to the *Samos* volumes when it concerns the catalogue and descriptive parts. Once more, scholars can in detail wonder about the extraordinary archaeological record of the Heraion on Samos. Table V which lists 569 griffin heads recorded by Gehrig, covering large parts of the Mediterranean as well as the Index of Provenance (pages 347-354) is valuable for all who like to assess the extensive trading patterns in the Mediterranean from the 8th to 6th centuries BC. The wider reading of these patterns remains debatable as Gehrig seems to be well aware off. Unfortunately his doubts regarding the amalgam of Levantine and Greek traits were hardly expressed in this book creating for me problems regarding the workshop attributions and especially the interpretation of the earliest griffin protomes.

Albert J. Nijboer

A. SCHMIDT-COLINET/G.A. PLATTNER, *Antike Architektur und Bauornamentik. Grundformen und Grundbegriffe*. Wien: WUV, 2004. 152 pp., 162 figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 3-8252-8288-0.

The title of this book suggests that it sets out to provide basic forms and terms for ancient architecture and architectural ornamentation, and in essence, it is indeed little more than a schematic enumeration of canonical building styles and ornaments. It deals successively with temples, capital types, non-religious public architecture, ornamentation, building techniques and wall painting, each subject being chronologically ordered within the chapter. Within each subject standard types are established through a short textual introduction, containing basic definitions and some chronological data, and illustrated with black-and-white drawings, with some room for the presentation of exceptions to the rule. For the temples, ground plans of the different architectural orders are given first before dealing with aspects of the elevation. Furthermore, the book contains several appendices, with the main stylistic periods of Greek and Roman art, an - incomplete - chronology of the (Western) Roman emperors, a glossary of important technical terms, a lexicon on ancient building and finally an internationally oriented bibliography with suggested further reading on a variety of subjects.

Where the book scores is in the detailed drawings showing and, more importantly, clearly labeling the constituent parts of architectural elements, such as temple pediments and column capitals. For instance, 10 separate elements are named for the Ionic capital and 11 for the Corinthian. Although doing so in German in the main body of the text, the extremely useful lexicon of often encountered technical architectural terms in the four main academic languages (German, French, English and Italian) will well serve all those who are struggling to come up with the correct terminology for the same phenomenon in all four languages.

As a whole, the book leans rather more strongly towards *Bauornamentik* than *Architektur*. Especially regarding the latter category, the main criticism is that the book is perhaps over-schematic and somewhat biased towards Greek architecture, for example giving only two examples of Roman temple building, (the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome and the Maison Carrée in Nîmes), thereby neglecting other Etrusco-italic temple types (essentially giving only its largest and paradoxically most disputed example) and later Imperial ones. Even accepting the fact that only the most basic standard types are presented in the book, this is a glaring omission. Regarding building techniques for instance, only *opus reticulatum* is mentioned under the heading of *opus caementicium*, foregoing earlier types such as *opus incertum* altogether. Another point of criticism is that the authors fail to offer any sense of scale for the presented buildings. Thus, to stick with the examples already given, the Maison Carrée actually appears larger than the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter in the book, while in reality the latter is almost six times the size of the former. Either the temples should have been presented with their relative sizes or a scale indicator should have been provided for each temple.

Although the authors state in the preface that it is not their intention to give a detailed, in-depth analysis of architectural development in the ancient world, I think that even for a relatively general presentation of *Grundformen und Grundbegriffe* the shortcomings noted above seriously diminish the usefulness of this book, not in the least for educational purposes. One has to ask when the line between the elimination of unnecessary repetition and clutter on the one hand and over-schematization and -simplification on the other in the presentation of the subject is crossed. Most likely for the sake of brevity and in an effort to avoid over-complicating things, the authors have perhaps pruned their subject a little too much.

Benjamin D. Rous

CORNELIA ISLER-KERÉNYI, *Civilizing Violence: Satyrs on 6th-Century Greek Vases*. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2004. XII+132 pp., 42 figs./drawings; 23 cm (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 208). – ISBN 3-7278-1497-7.

An offshoot of Isler-Kerényi's (hereafter I-K) earlier detailed work on 6th-century BC Dionysiac iconography (*Dionysos nella Grecia arcaica: il contributo delle immagini,* Pisa 2001; now published in English as *Dionysos in Archaic Greece: An Understanding Through Images,* Leiden 2006), this is another iconographic study that casts the

spotlight on the satyrs, the hybrid, uncouth and lustful beings associated with Dionysos. As a companion piece, this study repeats some of the conclusions reached in the earlier volume and needs to be consulted in association with it for a more detailed exposition of arguments and references to photographs (the current study is illustrated only with line drawings).

I-K examines depictions of satyrs on 6th and early 5th-century vase painting, primarily Attic, placing them in their historical and cultural context. As in her earlier studies, she considers images as reflections of the mental world of the Greeks that needs to be recovered. Her methodology consists of examining and analyzing images as primary sources in their own right, independently of texts. She has chosen a very good subject. The satyr, one of the earliest figures appearing on painted pottery and very popular in Archaic vase painting, is paradoxically almost completely absent from mythology. This book thus succeeds in filling a gap in the literary tradition through an examination of visual sources.

The author starts by tracing the earliest appearance of satyrs during the Orientalizing period in two contrasting but contemporaneous manifestations: a wild, sexually violent type and a well-mannered, 'domesticated' one associated with the Dionysian sphere, a context that may explain the satyrs' changed attitude. This association sets the tone for the rest of the chapters in which I-K argues that the symposion, a microcosm of the *polis*, is the setting where the beneficial integration of violence, expressed through the satyr who uses his phallus as a weapon, can be effected. Still, though the association of Eros and violence is clear, the symposiac connection of satyrs in this early period is not as evident in the context of the aggressive satyr, as I-K claims.

Chapter 2 focuses on the first depiction of satyrs in a narrative mythological context, the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase. The focus of this myth is Dionysos, who reconciled the Olympian family and restored divine and cosmic order (in scenes of the myth, elements of Dionysiac processional rituals were incorporated to symbolise the final triumph of Dionysos over those who had initially rejected him: G. Hedreen, The Return of Hephaistos, Dionysiac Processional Ritual and the Creation of a visual narrative, *JHS* 124, 2004, 38-64). Thus Dionysos here is not presented as a destructive uncontrollable force, but as a peacemaker who guarantees stability and order through institutionalized consumption of wine in festivals and symposia. The satyrs who accompany Hephaistos, hybrid beings like the mule the god rides, are intermediaries between the wilderness and the city and thus act in a controlled civilized manner. This interpretation differs from that recently proposed by Hedreen (see above), who in this and later depictions of the myth sees the behaviour of the satyrs as disruptive and counterproductive, reflecting Dionysian rituals of inversion and the disruption of power relations among the gods.

I-K nicely suggests that the restoration of stability in the divine sphere would have been a fitting prototype for the reconciliation between citizen classes that was the basis of reforms in Solon's time. It is indeed likely that the Athenian refugees who were welcomed back and the non-heirs who were encouraged to take up crafts would have identified themselves with the bastard and marginalised craftsman god who was led back to Olympos. An allusion to the outcast Athenians who were reintegrated into the community at that time may also be found in some scenes involving a mule ride (treated in Chapter 5), referring, according to I-K, to a prototypical ephebe ritually admitted into the polis. Intriguing as this reading of the images and the correlation with Solon's reforms may appear, I-K's suggestion for the existence of such a ritual for the integration of an inferior category of Athenians is entirely hypothetical.

Chapters 3 to 6 revolve around the role of satyrs as indispensable intermediaries between the divine and human world, and their two main roles as initiators: (a) introducing the users of the vases to Dionysos and Dionysiac happiness; and (b) contributing to civilization by transforming grapes into wine.

The satyrs depicted around Dionysos do not refer to a specific mythical event but to a situation in the present that enabled men to identify with the satyrs and encounter Dionysos. Just like the *komos* can become a *thiasos* in which the god appears, dancing humans can transform into satyrs and approach Dionysos. Through him, they can achieve happiness and equilibrium, either for a limited time (symposion) or for eternity (Bacchic mysteries). This ritual transformation is implied when satyrs are depicted together with human dancers, or when satyrs are depicted without tails (satyrs turning to the viewer may imply an invitation to join in). The thiasos of satyrs then is a means of communication between the human and divine realms and a way to tame male sexuality through encountering Dionysos.

At around 540 BC satyrs are shown engaged in wine making, as agents of transformation of humanity from nature and wilderness (vine) to culture and civilization (wine). Their work is accomplished in the vineyard of Dionysos which highlights the important role of the countryside in the process of achieving civilized life. This new imagery is persuasively associated by the author with the political situation of the time of Peisistratos: the fostering of cohesion between the rural and urban environment by giving emphasis to the countryside. The transformation of grapes into wine, which bears allusions to continuity after death, is associated with Bacchic initiations instituted in Athens at that time.

In the final chapter I-K compares satyrs in vase painting and satyr plays, bringing out again their role as intermediaries. The difference in context, however (time of heroes in theatre, mostly the present in vase painting), makes them relate differently to wine: it is miraculously given to them at the time of heroes, but obtained through knowledge and labour in the present.

The volume is well produced with few typographical errors. I have some quibbles, however, about terminology: e.g., *chora* is considered separate from the *polis* (p. 25); and if *komos* is dancers leading to or coming from a symposion, while *thiasos* consists of dancers around Dionysos (p. 59 n. 178), why does I-K refer to the dancers and nymphs with Dionysos at the centre of an amphora by the Amasis Painter as a *komos*? (p. 67). Note also that the reference to fig. 33 is misplaced. In sum, those interested in art and religion will find I-K's study an interesting and valuable contribution, provided they keep her book on Dionysos at hand.

Gina Salapata

Susan I. Rotroff/Robert D. Lamberton, *Women in the Athenian Agora*. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. 56 pp., 71 col & b/w figs.; 21 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-644-9.

This exquisite and beautifully produced booklet is no 26 in the popular series of the Athenian Agora Picture Books. It aims to introduce lay audiences and students to the lives of Athenian women based on information from literary and archaeological sources. Written in a concise, accessible, and engaging style, this little volume is packed with useful information and coloured illustrations of finds primarily from the Agora excavations.

The booklet is divided into several short sections that survey many aspects of women's lives: in the house, as wives, mothers and household managers; in ritual, as participants and audience; in production and trade, as workers and merchants; in leisure, as male companions.

Focussing on the 5th and 4th centuries BC, Rotroff and Lamberton carefully make use of both literary and archaeological information to re-evaluate Athenian women's roles. They convincingly argue that women may have had more control over their lives and disposition of property than most literary texts suggest, and conclude that women were more constrained during the Athenian democracy than in Archaic times. In all periods, though, poorer women, who did not own slaves, would have circulated more freely in the public space, selling produce, working, and doing outdoor chores. Thus the usual dichotomy projected in the sources, male/public and female/private, may have been more an ideal than actual practice. Women also do not appear to have been confined to separate quarters in the house, since rooms were likely used in a flexible way.

A welcome addition is the epilogue that explores modern women involved in the Athenian Agora excavations. Even if they mostly kept records and studied the small finds, these women, like their ancient counterparts, were 'very much forces to be reckoned with in their respective worlds' (p. 55).

There is no space to elaborate on diverse interpretations, which is understandable in view of the scope and size of the booklet; unfortunately, however, statements such as 'other interpretations of both their dress and their public visibility have been plausibly argued' (p. 7) remain enigmatic, especially since the absence of references prevents following them up.

I have a few minor quibbles and suggestions. The bride in fig. 13 does not appear to me to finger 'her garment nervously' (p. 15); lifting the edge of the garment is a standard graceful feminine gesture. Because of its association with Artemis, the partly preserved animal in fig. 16 may be a deer rather than a goat. The perfumed oil carried by the woman on a white-ground lekythos (fig. 28) is more likely for anointing the grave rather than for libation, as the authors suggest. *Epinetron*, rather than *epinitron*, is the standard term for the thigh guard used in wool working (p. 34 and captions for figs. 32, 36). There is only one typographical error (p. 45, line 6: woman instead of women).

This slim and very readable book is an excellent introduction to women's lives in ancient Athens and would make a very useful addition to the reading list of several undergraduate courses in Classical studies.

Gina Salapata

Rosalba Panvini/Lavinia Sole, *L'acropoli di Gela - stipi, depositi o scarichi*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2005. 203 pp., 93 pls.; 24.5 cm. (Archaeologica 143, Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 18). – ISBN 88-7689-189-7.

The 18th volume of the Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia is dedicated to the stipes, deposits and dumps of the acropolis of the Rhodian-Cretan colony of Gela. This colony on Sicily was founded in 689/688 BC as stated by Thucydides (VI, 4, 3-4).

Five deposits were excavated between 1951 and 1953. Only 3 of them were published - incompletely - in the *Notizie degli Scavi* by the excavators D. Adamesteanu and P. Orlandini: the 'stips of the Athenaion' in 1956, the 'archaic' stips and the stips called 'in the *pithos*' in 1962. The stipes under building 2 and 12 of the acropolis remained unpublished. The intention of the present authors R. Panvini ('archaic' stips, stips under building 12, introduction of the stips under building 2) and L. Sole ('stips of the *Athenaion*', stips 'in the *pithos*', catalogue of the stips under building 2) is to fill the gaps by collecting all the relevant materials from the stores of the Museo Archeologico Regionale of Gela and by studying the inventory registers from the time of the excavations.

A chapter is dedicated to each of the deposits. Each chapter is twofold: an introduction in which the authors deal with the identification of the complex as a stips or a dump, with the types of votive material, and the identification of the deity/deities to whom these votives were dedicated, followed by a catalogue containing I. figurines of terracotta, II. ceramics, and III. other materials. Unfortunately, unlike in other volumes of the CSVI, tables containing an overview of these materials at one glance are missing. The discourse is clear and to the point. The book is well illustrated.

The 'stips of the *Athenaion*' is located between the archaic temple B (*Athenaion*) and temple C from the 5th century BC. Although the excavators interpreted the deposit as a stips, Sole identifies it as a dump, because not only votive materials but also architectural elements were found. It may have been created during a reorganization of the sanctuary. The material dates from the 7th to the second quarter of the 5th century BC. Some pottery fragments however date to the second millennium BC. This points to frequentation of the site previous to the founding of the colony. Many objects have been imported from Greek territories like the Peloponnese, Attica, the Greek islands, and Asia Minor, while stylistic influences from Corinth and Crete can be seen in local statuettes of standing women. Furthermore, fragments of Cypriote pottery could have been imported by the founders of the colony: Rhodos used to be a distribution centre of trade between Cyprus and the western part of the Mediterranean in the 7th century BC. Five fragments of *kantharoi* prove the presence of Etruscan bucchero in Gela. The high number of female stat-

uettes with or without attributes like pigeons, pomegranates and flowers of pomegranates, opposed to the low number of male statuettes (only two fragments), and objects from the *mundus muliebris* (loom weights, spindles, *pyxides*) point to a cult of a female deity, probably a Mother Goddess, and her *paredroi*. The fragment of an owl is in itself not enough evidence for the identification of an Athena cult in the opinion of Sole.

Situated on the northern slope of the acropolis near the archaic fortified wall, the 'archaic' stips from the late 6th century BC contains forty objects, amongst which terracotta figurines, vases, metal objects and two shells. The earliest terracotta figurine, in late Daedalic style, is of Rhodian origin, as is the torso of a horseman, one of the oldest in Gela. Both Corinthian and colonial pottery have been found. The lack of data prevents us from identifying the god to whom the votives were offered. From the votives can be concluded that a female deity was venerated, but a male aspect cannot be excluded because of the presence of weapons. The torso of the horseman points to the aristocratic class occupied with horse breeding, well known in Gela from literary, epigraphic and iconographic sources.

The stips called 'in the *pithos*' is situated in the western sector of the acropolis, ca 2 m northeast of a wall that probably belonged to a sacred building. The *pithos* contains ash, soil, animal bones, stones, fragmentary tiles and 11 objects. Among the finds are a *kore* shaped *thymiaterion* of local production with Ionian influences, two oil lamps and a male recumbent figurine from a Rhodian workshop. The materials date to the late 6th century BC. Therefore it can be supposed that the stips in the *pithos* is the residue of one single ceremony in honour of a female deity, presumably executed by a female believer, although the already mentioned statuette of a recumbent man seems to point to a male believer as well. The nature of the votives suggests a chthonic character of the cult.

Since the stips under building 12 has not been published before, the authors' source of information were the inventory lists of the Gela Museum. The votives - 133 terracotta figurines, 16 vases, 6 oil lamps, 1 bead of glass paste and 1 loom weight - can be dated between the second half of the 6th century and ca 400 BC. The closing of the deposit can be related to the Carthagian attacks in 405 BC and the destruction of the colony. The largest category of figurines consists of standing females holding a piglet. Apart from a few exceptions all votives have been produced by local workshops. The bead of glass paste from the end of the 6th century BC is of Punic origin. The votive material is characteristic for the Demeter and Kore cult.

The votives from the stips under building 2 - 102 objects - is comparable to that of the previous one.

From the material can be concluded that a chthonic cult existed on the acropolis of Gela from the foundation of the colony onwards. In a later stage cults in honour of Athena (epigraphically testified) and Demeter are identifiable. The exact location of the sacred area of the latter is not discovered yet.

Natalie L.C. Stevens

GIOVANNI GORINI / ATTILIO MASTROCINQUE (eds.), *Stipi votive delle Venezie - Altichiero, Monte Altare, Musile, Garda, Riva*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2005. 293 pp., 17 figs., 55 pls.; 24 cm. (Archaeologica 144, Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 19). - ISBN 88-7689-210-9.

Most of the volumes of the Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia (CSVI) deal with only one archaeological site or one city. This volume on the contrary deals with a selection of votive deposits in a whole region: Veneto in the north-eastern part of Italy. The book provides specimens of the cults of the Veneti and their neighbours from Hellenistic times until the end of the Republic, although also older finds and coins from the period of the Roman Empire have been included. In this way interesting information can be derived about the evolution and distribution of the cults, and about the Romanization of the region.

Because of the interrelations with Etruscan and central Italic peoples it was only a small step towards the Romanization of the Veneto region. A break with the traditional culture is absent.

From the 2nd and 1st centuries BC onwards monumental temples of the Italic type were built in the Veneto region. Local gods assimilated with gods of the Greek-Roman pantheon. Latin cults were adopted, Latin dedication inscriptions were used, coins replaced gifts in kind. In 102 BC the Veneto region became part of the Roman defence system, probably because of the invasions of the Cimbrians and Teutones. As a Roman *provincia* it had to defend the northeastern borders. The Veneti living in the cities received the Latin rights as a result of the law of Cn. Pompeus Strabo in 89 BC and the Roman civil rights as a result of the *lex Iulia* in 49 BC. In 42-41 BC the Veneto region was no longer a Roman *provincia* and with the Augustan campaigns against the Rhetian, Vindelian and Noric peoples in 15-14 BC the controlling role of the Veneti decreased.

Most of the material of the votive deposit of Altichiero in Padova (Brenta River) is dated too early to speak of Romanization. The votive deposit of Monte Altare (Treviso) is situated on a peripheral location where the Romanization proceeded more slowly and in other ways.

The votive deposit of Garda on the contrary contains terracotta votives comparable to the votives from central Italy. The gods belong to the Greek-Roman pantheon. It is likely that people from central Italy lived in Garda during the last century of the Republic. In Musile di Piave materials from the pre-Roman period have been found in a pit from the Roman period. This points to the transition from the palaeo-Venetic to the Roman phase: useless materials from the past could be dumped.

Special attention is paid to *sortes*, of which 36 bronze specimens have been found in the votive deposit of Monte Altare, the largest amount in the Veneto region. Also the comment on the coins of this votive deposit is quite extensive and extraordinary informative.

The consequence of a large group of authors (contributions by the editors Giovanni Gorini and Attillio Mastrocinque, and also by Cristina Bassi, Alfredo Buonopane, Pierangela Croce Da Villa, Giovanna Gambacurta, Luca Zaghetto, and Giovanna Zambotto) is

inevitably lack of coherence from time to time. The contributors are specialists on the fields of numismatics, ancient history and archaeology of the Veneto region. The result is a high level overview in which these fields melt together.

The many illustrations, tables, schemes, maps and plans in the text - quite uncommon in the CSVI series - are useful additions. The quality is high, and so are the glossy black and white drawings and photographs at the end of the book.

Natalie L.C. Stevens

LUCIO FIORINI, *Topografia generale e storia del santuario. Analisi dei contesti e delle stratigrafie*, con una appendice di Enrico Franceschi e Giorgio Luciano: I metalli. Bari: Edipuglia, 2005. 506 pp. 279 figs., 28 tav.; 30 cm (Gravisca, scavi nel santuario greco 1.1). - ISBN 88-7228-440-6.

The sanctuary of the *emporium* Gravisca is one of the most important and complex sanctuaries in Etruria. It is unique and of fundamental importance for the understanding of the economical and cultural dynamics of the entire Mediterranean (p. 13). Cults of Aphrodite-Turan, Hera-Uni, Demeter-Vei, Apollo, Artumes, the Dioskouroi and Adonis have been epigraphically testified. This book is the first volume of the series 'Gravisca - Scavi nel santuario greco', which is directed by Mario Torelli and edited by Simona Fortunelli. The series will finally consist of 17 volumes divided in part I, dealing with the two archaeological sites (volume 1.1 (the volume under review) and 1.2 *(Il deposito votivo dell'area settentrionale del santuario)*) and part II (volumes 2-16), dealing with the finds (e.g. ceramics, votive materials and inscriptions). Ten of these have already been published, volume 1.2 is in preparation.

This volume contains the long awaited, final examination of the first period of excavations of the site, between 1969 and 1979. From 1994 onwards a second series of campaigns has taken place. The focus of these excavations is the area to the north of the sanctuary, where chthonic cults can be identified, and to which the already mentioned volume 1.2 will be dedicated.

The book consists of three parts: I: the site, II: the topography and the excavations of the sanctuary, and III: the conclusions. In an appendix the metals are dealt with by Enrico Franceschi and Giorgio Luciano.

In part I Lucio Fiorini deals with the ancient literary sources first. Unfortunately he does not translate the Greek and Latin texts (except for one), although he summarizes some of them briefly.

Torelli's reconstruction of the sanctuary from 1977 (in: *PP* 32, 398-458), until the present publication the only attempt to discern the building phases of the site, has been summarized and used as a point of reference. Torelli's proposals can be confirmed by Fiorini after analysing very carefully the information collected during a decade of excavation, and after having taken testing samples from two of the buildings (*gamma* and *epsilon*) in 1995 and 2003. Torelli's building phases (ca 580, ca 480, ca 400, and 300 BC) are being refined in part III.

Part II starts with the excavation techniques, followed by short chapters on the general topography of Gravisca and the building techniques. Then the results of the excavation are dealt with in an extensive way. Each of the buildings (*gamma*, *delta*, *alpha*, *beta*, and *epsilon*) and each part of these buildings has been described in detail. Maps, drawings of vertical stratigraphies and sharp black and white photographs of many details illustrate the descriptions. Each chapter starts with a large map of the building. In the abundant number of footnotes even more details like the inventory numbers of the finds have been inserted. A small chapter is dedicated to the street plan.

The conclusions of part III have been written to the point and each of the building phases has been visualized by maps and splendid three-dimensional reconstruction drawings from different angles (plates 1-28). The oldest traces of frequentation of the area by Greek visitors date around 600 BC, contemporary to the rise of Gravisca. The cult would have started around 580 BC and the first *sacellum* would have been dedicated to Aphrodite. Already in this period metallurgic activities took place in the area. Around 550 BC the sanctuary was subject to radical transformation. This can be related to the arrival of Samian visitors at Gravisca. In this phase Aphrodite and Hera form a couple, just like in, for example, the Heraion of Samos. Around 530 BC a fire destroyed the buildings and a new complex was built. At the beginning of the fourth phase around 480 BC the sanctuary almost reached its definite lay-out. At this time the sanctuary lost its *emporium*-character under the influence of political, economical and social changes. This had severe impacts on the character of the cult. It became more and more a central-Italic cult with emphasis on the aspect of health. In the fifth phase, from 400/380 BC onwards, the complex was rebuilt and new structures were added. *Oikoi* for Aphrodite and Hera (*gamma*), Adonis (*delta*), Apollo (*alpha*), and Demeter (*beta*) were built, and connected symbolically by an imaginary square between the several altars and the tomb of Adonis (fig. 273, p. 194). This square has been discovered by Torelli. During the last phase at the end of the 4th century BC some transformations and additions were realized, but the lay-out did not change. The sanctuary was destroyed around 280 BC. After three decades it was reoccupied partially until the end of the 3rd century BC, although some of the finds date to the 1st century AD, amongst which a Latin inscription reading *Adon* (Adonis).

Inventory lists have been added. Per building and per section of it the finds are listed, arranged by the year of the discovery, the inventory number, the findspot, class and type of object. The appendix deals with the results of archaeometric research on some pieces of metal, executed by the Dipartimento di Chimica e Chimica Industriale of the University of Genova.

A minor point of criticism is the fact that Fiorini does not always make a distinction between the Greek and Etruscan gods: the Greek names are still being used in the building phases in which only the Etruscan equivalents are epigraphically testified, although the author sometimes uses Greek and Etruscan name together, connected by a hyphen.

This highly archaeological publication provides information on every single detail of the site. It must have been a hell of a job! The lay-out is very attractive.

Natalie L.C. Stevens

HENNER VON HESBERG, *Römische Baukunst*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2005. 295 pp., 59 figs.; 24,3 cm. – ISBN 3-406-52920-8.

Many monographs have been written on Roman architecture, most recently the two excellent volumes by Pierre Gros. Whereas these works seem to analyse Roman architecture as a phenomenon that advanced through time and therefore emphasise the development of its physical aspects, in this book Von Hesberg aims at approaching architecture as a central element of Roman society around which daily life revolved. Architecture created a feeling of 'Zusammengehörigkeit' or, at least, a sense of 'Zusammenleben'.

The book consists of three main sections that are each subdivided into several chapters. In the first part (16-62) Von Hesberg introduces the periods into which he divides Roman architecture for the purpose of this book. The first chapter deals with building materials (19-31), how the choice of material changed through time and what constructional possibilities and challenges the various materials created. The second chapter (32-62) is on building ornaments and decorations, such as capitals, the entablature but also mosaics and sculpture. Architecture accommodated the display of these adornments that were partly based on conventions but also expressions of propaganda.

The second section (63-203) deals with construction projects and building types. After an introductory chapter on urban planning (63-69) the remaining chapters are largely descriptions of the various building types and their significance within society. The first structures to be discussed are city walls (71-77) that, besides the defensive character should also be seen as expressions of Roman 'Machtbewusstsein'. The subsequent chapter deals with temples (78-107). The development of the Roman temple is discussed in chronological order from the Republican period until the Late Empire when the first Christian churches were erected. Structures with political functions, such as the *curia* and the *comitium*, are introduced as the third building type (108-114). This building category had an important representational function within society, as Vitruvius (5.2.1) already recalled in his work on architecture: 'the construction of the curia should express the *dignitas* of a city' (quoted 110). Next are commercial buildings (115-125): besides a discussion of *tabernae*, *horrea* there is a long section (118-124) on the commercial function of the *porticus*, translated by Von Hesberg as 'Halle'. With this interpretation he suggests a multifunctional role for the Roman covered colonnade within commercial architecture. Yet hardly any attention is paid to the *macellum* as a commercial building type. The following chapter on honorary monuments is very short (126-129) in which the author briefly touches upon the impact of monumental arches and honorary columns on the urban landscape. The chapter on the basilica (130-141) focuses on the origins of this building type and its function. Spectacle buildings are discussed at greater length (142-168). Not only the stone structures are examined, but the author pays attention to the temporary constructions as well. With the help of ancient literary sources the author brings the Roman games back to life. Baths and gymnasia are studied as buildings of daily leisure (169-182). The well-preserved Stabian baths in Pompeii, that developed from a gymnasium (170), are discussed in detail to illustrate how a bath complex functioned (170-173). In the final two pages of the chapter libraries are briefly introduced as yet another building for *otium*. A short chapter on fountains, *nymphaea* and latrines as urban amenities for well-being (183-186) focuses mainly on the water supply of Rome and only mentions latrines in the last paragraph. Another short chapter (187-190) deals with buildings of infrastructure such as streets, harbours and lighthouses. The final chapter of this section considers domestic buildings and tombs (191-203). Considering the aim of his book, Von Hesberg does not get into great detail in this chapter as he sees private architecture as a reflection of individual behaviour patterns rather than a representation of collective ideological concepts. There was no standard Roman house, for example, only standard elements (e.g. the atrium) that occurred in many houses.

Many interesting questions are raised in this section. However, the degree of detail with which the topics are covered fluctuates significantly, resulting in unequal chapter lengths and leaving various aspects under-explored.

In the third part (204-243) the author explores the practical and social aspects of Roman building by looking at the builders and the users. In the first chapter (204-212) he discusses the organisation of building projects, such as the acquisition of land. The various people that could commission new buildings are examined in the following chapter (213-224). The third category of people involved, the architects and builders, are considered next (225-232). Finally attention is paid to the visitors and users of the buildings (233-243).

In the appendix we find a bibliography structured per chapter for which Von Hesberg evidently selected the most important publications, though at points incomplete. In addition, there are two indexes: a place index organised per city with related monuments and a person's index.

The illustrations of the volume are disappointing. Not only is the number small (59) in comparison to the material discussed, the dimensions of the drawings and photographs are minute and are therefore often not suitable to support or to do justice to the text. However, the fact that most plans grouped in one illustration are shown at the same scale, does give the reader an idea of the relative size of a building.

Römische Baukunst does not only deal with Roman architecture from a practical point of view, but Von Hesberg places the art of building in a historical context and explains how certain architectural decisions and planning were influenced by cultural, social and political motives. Apart from in-depth analyses of building types and their developments, Von Hesberg uses an wealth of ancient literary sources to substantiate his arguments and to add colour to his descriptions. As a result the reader gets an insight in the whole construction

process: from the planning of the structure as a symbiosis between architect and commissioner, to the building economy, the choice of construction material and decoration, and, finally, to the actual users of the buildings.

Saskia Stevens

FRANCESCO D'ANDRIA (ed.), *Cavallino: pietre, case e città della Messapia antica*. Ceglie Messapica: Progettipercomunicare s.n.c. di G. Schirone & Co, 2005. 111 pp., nombr. ill. coul. & b.n., CD ROM. – ISBN 88-89612-00-2.

Cavallino est une petite localité à 6 Km au SE de Lecce dans le Salento, à l'extrémité SE de la péninsule italienne. Depuis la première mention, à la fin du 19e siècle, de l'existence d'un habitat messapien à cet endroit, les recherches archéologiques y ont connu des hauts et des bas jusqu'au début du nouveau millénaire qui semble marquer un tournant décisif aussi bien pour la recherche du site, devenu chantier-école de l'université de Lecce, que pour sa conservation et sa valorisation. Ce nouvel élan, du en grande partie à l'enthousiasme de Francesco D'Andria, donna lieu en 2005 à l'organisation d'une exposition *in situ*, à l'occasion de laquelle fut publié le présent volume, appartenant à ce genre de littérature archéologique, très en vogue actuellement, qui veut être à la fois manuel, guide et catalogue, au risque peut-être de voir se perdre les données concernant les objets exposés au milieu des différentes contributions, une vingtaine en tout, d'ampleur variée, touchant des aspects très divers du site en question. Fréquenté une première fois pendant le Bronze Moyen et apparemment abandonné par la suite durant le Bronze Récent et Final, le site de Cavallino est occupé à nouveau à partir de l'Âge du Fer (IXe-VIIIe siècle av.J.-Chr.) et montre un habitat à cabanes qui se transforme pendant la première partie du VIe siècle av.J.-Chr. en un grand site fortifié, abandonné avant la moitié du Ve siècle av.J.-Chr. et suivi d'une occupation sporadique liée à l'exploitation agricole de la zone.

La plupart des contributions rassemblées dans ce volume concerne évidemment la documentation archéologique mise au jour, et tout d'abord une architecture domestique très variée allant de simples habitations constituées d'une seule pièce jusqu'à de grandes maisons comportant de nombreuses pièces autour d'une cour centrale. Les tombes isolées ou groupées en nécropoles, retrouvées aussi bien à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur des remparts, nous renseignent sur les habitants du site, aussi bien de l'époque de l'habitat fortifié que de la période successive, jusqu'au IVe siècle av.J.-Chr. Quelques catégories particulières de la documentation archéologique font l'objet de contributions séparées: le système de couverture des maisons, des éléments de décoration architectonique, les représentations mythologiques sur quelques vases figurés, des objets à destination cultuelle, les témoignages écrits et les monnaies. Partant de la documentation archéologique disponible sont abordés également des problèmes de 'Gender Archaeology' et les échanges commerciaux. Nous trouvons également quelques contributions intéressantes sur le milieu naturel et les résultats d'analyses archéobotaniques et archéozoologiques. A côté de tout celà il convient de signaler encore quelques contributions concernant des aspects méthodologiques de la recherche et de la 'muséalisation' du site en forme de 'Museo Diffuso'. À l'illustration abondante et extrêmement bien soignée de ce volume est ajouté encore un CD-Rom qui offre au lecteur une visite guidée du site.

Frank Van Wonterghem

Studi di Antichità 11 (1998). Galatina, Congedo editore, 2003. 296 pp., nombr. figs; 28,5 cm. – ISBN 8880865498.

Comme d'habitude, ce onzième volume du périodique *Studi di Antichità*, publié par le 'Dipartimento di beni culturali' de l'Université de Lecce, présente un caractère multidisciplinaire et contient trois sections.

Dans la section historique, comportant quatre études dédiées à l'histoire grecque, G. Boffa examine tout d'abord la présence d'Orientaux en Grèce, et plus particulièrement en Béotie, au IXe-VIIIe siècle av.J.-Chr., partant d'un passage d'Hérodote sur les *Gephuraioi*. Les caractères particuliers de l'épigraphie de Théra de l'époque archaïque sont ensuite abordés par A. Inglese. *Astuochos*, personnage spartiate de la fin du Ve siècle av.J.-Chr., souvent controversé par les historiens modernes, est quelque peu réhabilité dans l'étude de C. Romano. La contribution de E. Arena sur la chronologie de la seconde 'Philippique' de Démosthène, montre que les discours publics du célèbre orateur n'ont pas fini de donner lieu à des discussions entre historiens.

Dans la seconde section, dédiée à la numismatique, K. Mannino remet sur le tapis le problème de la signification des fac-similés de monnaies en terre cuite retrouvés à Métaponte, tandis que R. Aurigemma et A. Degasperi abordent la circulation monétaire à Roca (prov. Lecce) et présentent un catalogue des monnaies, allant du Ve siècle av.J.-Chr. jusqu'à l'époque moderne, trouvées lors des fouilles dans ce site côtier de 1987 à 1995.

Les études présentées dans la troisième section, la plus étendue, concernent pour la plupart l'archéologie du Salento. Tout d'abord le petit port d'escale de Torre S. Gregorio, à l'extrémité du Salento non loin du Cap de S. Maria di Leuca, dont la documentation archéologique, aussi bien sur la terre ferme que sous la mer, est réexaminée par Aurigemma. Th. Van Compernolle dresse un bilan de dix années de recherches à Soleto, à une vingtaine de Km au S de Lecce, et présente un aperçu de l'occupation de ce site messapien du VIIIe au IIIe siècle av.J.-Chr.

Un mobilier funéraire en soi pas exceptionnel, découvert en 1915 au abords de Vaste (à une quarantaine de Km au SE de Lecce) et comprenant entr'autres un cratère apulien à figures rouges et une 'trozzella', la forme la plus caractéristique parmi les vases indigènes messapiens, offre l'occasion à M.T. Giannotta pour s'attacher aux pratiques funéraires des Messapiens et plus spécialement à la signification particulière de la 'trozzella', qui semble apparemment exclusive d'une certaine catégorie de mobiliers funéraires féminins. Du même site messapien J.-L. Lamboley publie en détail les résultats de ses recherches stratigraphiques dans deux secteurs des fortifications urbaines, le 'Fondo melliche' au nord et la zone 'Colagallo' au sud.

Depuis longtemps la topographie historique de la péninsule salentine constitue l'objet de recherches 'en surface' menées par des archéologues de différentes universités neerlandaises. Dans ce volume G.-J. Burgers, P. Attema et M. van Leusen présentent un rapport provisoire sur les résultats fournis par le projet 'Ostuni '99' concernant l'évolution du paysage et de l'occupation humaine de la préhistoire jusqu'à l'époque romaine dans deux échantillons du territoire à l'ouest d'Ostuni, l'un situé sur le plateau des Murge et l'autre dans la zone intermédiaire entre ce plateau et la plaine côtière. Nous quittons le Salento avec la dernière contribution de G. Körioğlu, sur des objets en verre byzantins et islamiques découvert dans un site près de Mersin au SE de la Turquie.

Frank Van Wonterghem

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PENELOPE M. ALLISON, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii* III. *The finds, a contextual study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006. 502 pp., 83 figs., 132 pls. – ISBN 0-19-926312-4.

KEVIN ANDREWS, *Castles of the Morea*. (A Revised Edition, with a Foreword by Glenn R. Bugh). Princeton NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. 274 pp., 231 figs., XL pls.; 31 cm. – ISBN-10: 0-87661-406-3/ISBN-13: 978-0-87661-406-8.

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